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The Right of Sarawak

Sincerely yours

J. Brooke

From the original Portrait by Francis Grant, Esq. R.A.

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London, John Murray, Albemarle Street.

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NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

IN

BORNEO AND CELEBES,

DOWN TO

THE OCCUPATION OF LABUAN:

FROM THE

JOURNALS OF JAMES BROOKE, ESQ.

RAJAH OF SARAWAK, AND GOVERNOR OF LABUAN.

TOGETHER WITH A NARRATIVE OF THE OPERATIONS OF H.M.S. IRIS.

BY

CAPTAIN RODNEY MUNDY, R.N.

WITH NUMEROUS PLATES, MAPS, CHARTS, AND WOODCUTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1848.

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PREFACE.

WHEN I first received the Journals of Mr. Brooke, it was my intention to have published only such extracts as related to events subsequent to those narrated in the "Expedition of her Majesty's ship Dido to Borneo;" but, on a closer examination of the manuscripts, I found so much instructive and interesting information in the earlier part of Mr. Brooke's Diaries, not included in the work of the Hon. Captain Keppel, that I at once determined on giving to the public all such matter as had previously been omitted; and I hope that those who may do me the honour to read these volumes will deem me fully justified in the course I have taken. By adopting this plan, I considered that the career of Mr. Brooke might be traced with some degree of correctness

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year by year, during his long absence from England.

That portion of the Journals which is descriptive of Celebes will be found worthy of special attention, as it gives to Europe, for the first time, the history of the great independent kingdoms of a fine island, hitherto almost unknown, and whose native princes are most desirous of forming commercial relations with the English nation.

The constitution of these Bugis states is very remarkable, more especially that of Wajo, which, as Mr. Brooke observes, "bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times in Europe, or rather of that period in the history of the Low Countries when the rights of free citizens were acknowledged;" and, strange to say, these are the only people we are acquainted with, professing the Mohamedan religion, who have emancipated themselves from the fetters of despotism.

I have added such engravings from sketches furnished by Mr. Brooke, or from others made by myself, and officers serving with me, as I have thought would illustrate the native mode of warfare, and display some of the characteristic features of their country, and I have given every attention to the preparation of the charts, by aid of which

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it is hoped the reader may be able to trace with sufficient accuracy the several localities mentioned in these volumes.

The chart of the Gulf of Boni in Celebes was prepared under the immediate eye of Mr. Brooke on his visit to that island, and gives the geographical situation of many places hitherto unknown. That of the north-west coast of Borneo is here presented to the public for the first time, with the names and positions of the rivers, which were also obtained by Mr. Brooke during several exploring expeditions, undertaken for that purpose by Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, K. C. B., the Commander-in-Chief in the Indian seas.

The general chart of the Archipelago, whilst showing the track of Mr. Brooke's yacht, the Royalist, will also point out the singular position of the province of Sarāwak, which, situated at the extreme north-west point of Borneo, appears indeed but as a speck on the confines of this vast island, yet who shall predict what may hereafter result from the gradual extension of the civilising influence already planted on that little spot of earth?

The present state and future prospects of Labuan

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are set forth in my own Journal with the discoveries of coal, timber, water, &c., made subsequently to my taking possession of the island in the name of the Queen, and the charts to accompany this description will show the proposed site of the town and other features of the settlement.

To the Earl of Auckland, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I am much indebted for the permission granted me of referring to official documents relative to Borneo; and I wish at the same time to thank Rear Admiral Dundas, C. B., Captain Hamilton, R. N., the secretary, and John Barrow, Esq., of the Record Office, for the ready assistance which I have received at their hands.

I feel myself particularly obliged to Henry Wise, Esq. for his kindness in giving me access to many valuable letters from Mr. Brooke; and my best acknowledgments are also due to James Augustus St. John, Esq. for the assiduity and attention which he paid in his revision of the Journals, as well as to H. Williams, Esq., for his able notice of the geological formations of the north-west coast of Borneo, and for the chart of Sarāwak which accompanies it.

I am greatly indebted to Francis Grant, Esq.,

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A. R. A., for permission to engrave the head of Mr. Brooke, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, from his admirable portrait recently executed. A larger and more highly finished engraving * from it is in progress. The costume is that usually worn by the rajah at Sarāwak, and is adapted to the genial climate of Borneo.

1. *Hobart Place, Eaton Square,*
1st March, 1848.

* To be published by Dominic Colnaghi & Co., of Pall Mall, East.

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EVENTS IN BORNEO.

INTRODUCTION.

During the sixteen months in which I was in command of Her Majesty's squadron in the Straits of Singapore and on the coast of Borneo, I became acquainted with Mr. Brooke, and it was my good fortune to be much associated with him in the several operations carried on in that quarter, and to visit the greater part of the territory comprising the kingdom of Borneo Proper, by which I had ample opportunities of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the habits, and manners of the natives, and of the enlightened policy and progressive measures of Mr. Brooke, since his arrival in that country.

Many circumstances anterior to my acquaintance with Mr. Brooke, yet connected with his career in the Eastern Archipelago, will be found related in my own Journal in the Second Volume of this work, at the period in which Her Majesty's ship under my command first appears upon the scene; and when the whole of the proceedings having reference to

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the various expeditions of the Iris to Borneo are taken into consideration, it will not, I trust, appear extraordinary that I should feel so deep an interest in every thing relating to that magnificent country, and, with all the heart and warmth of a sailor, breathe an earnest prayer for the complete success of the mighty task undertaken by my zealous and indefatigable friend. Since my return home from the service on the coast of Borneo, this distinguished individual, who in consequence of the late official appointments conferred upon him by Her Majesty, is now visiting England for a short period, has kindly placed at my disposal the whole of his unpublished Journals, extending from Nov. 1838 to July 1846; and I need scarcely say, that I esteem it a high and valued privilege thus to be permitted to exhibit to view a narrative of the gradual and skilful manner in which Mr. Brooke carried out his beneficent views from the very commencement of the undertaking, as also the occasional workings of his mind, his opinions and reflections upon passing occurrences, which, proceeding from so pure and natural a source, will not fail, it may be hoped, to interest every reader of these volumes.

The Journal commences at the period when, as a private gentleman, Mr. Brooke first sailed from his native land, full of confidence in the sacredness of the enterprise he was engaging in, and of hope in its ultimate success. A noble pilgrimage this! prompted, not by the feelings of

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over-heated zeal, but by one of the best impulses of the human mind, the desire to relieve and disenchain millions of our oppressed and enslaved fellow-beings, our dark and semi-barbarous brethren of the Eastern Archipelago!

I may here state that, owing to the long period through which the Journals of Mr. Brooke extend, and the hurried manner in which they were necessarily written, frequently amidst the turmoils of war and the discomforts of savage life, it could hardly be expected that the varied information they contain should be marked with the regularity of an ordinary diary; and it will, therefore, be necessary for me, in order as far as possible to connect the links in the chain of his adventures, to introduce occasionally a short narrative of such parts of his proceedings as have been omitted in his own Journal, or have appeared in a late publication.

To accomplish this object, I have either had recourse to private letters written by Mr. Brooke from Sarāwak to his friends in England, or have gathered the information by personal communication with Mr. Brooke himself.

With this short explanation I will now let the Journals speak for themselves.

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MR. BROOKE'S JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND. — CREW OF THE ROYALIST. — RIO JANEIRO. — SLAVERY. — CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. — ARRIVAL AT SINGAPORE. — POPULATION. — CHINESE. — MALAYS. — SCENERY. — BUK-EL-TEMAH. — ASPECT AND CHARACTER OF THE JUNGLE. — ANCIENT CITY OF JOHORE. — EQUIVOCAL EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION. — SAIL FOR BORNEO. — TIDES OF THE STRAITS. — REACH THE COAST OF BORNEO.

I SAILED from England in the yacht Royalist, in the month of November, 1838, her crew consisting of the following persons: — 1838.

James Brooke	*Owner and Commander.*
David Irons	*Master.*
William Williams	*Surgeon and Naturalist.*
Andrew Murray	*Surveyor and Observer.*
Colin Hart	*First Mate.*
Clarence Goymour	*Second Mate.*
—— Wetherall	*Carpenter.*
Thomas Creswick	*Steward and Stuffer.*
—— Graham	*Cook.*
William Spence	*Seamen.*
John M'Kenzie	
John Balls	
William Burnett	
George Miers	
Harry Bowers	
George Papin	
Richard Earnshaw	
—— James	

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1839. Joseph Middleton - - - } *Boys.*
James Littlepage - - - }

Our passage to Rio Janeiro occupied nearly two months. Whilst refitting in that magnificent harbour, I had an opportunity of making several excursions on shore, and of learning many facts relative to the slave-trade. This odious traffic is by law interdicted in the Brazilian territory, and nominally prohibited by the Brazilian government; but the executive has little wish to carry the law into strict execution, and no power to coerce the great mass of the white population.

The trade is therefore as briskly carried on as ever just outside the harbour of Rio; and though captures are occasionally made by the English cruisers, they may be considered as cases of individual misfortune rather than any detriment to the trade at large.

When the captured slavers have undergone all the harassing delays of a mixed commission composed of Englishmen and Brazilians — when the live cargoes, through these delays, have been reduced by disease and death often to a third of their original number, the wretched survivors are bound apprentices to Brazilian planters; of course, the apprentice soon dies and the slave survives, for there is no check beyond a paper return once a-year, which is made by parties interested, and is also received by parties interested, in the continuance of the trade. For the poor creatures

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1839.

themselves there is no protection. Surely more effective measures might be enforced if the Christian nations of Europe were resolved to unite in the effort.

After a fortnight's stay at Rio, we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 15th of March beat into Table Bay, with a fiery south-easter blowing, and were able to contrast the aspect of the African coast with that of South America. The former has little to boast of in comparison, as it is devoid of the luxuriant verdure and tropical foliage of Rio, and its culture is less grand and less diversified. Of this colony I need say little, save that the good inhabitants of Cape Town complained much of the want of servants, though unwilling to pay adequate wages for labour; and that the effects of the slave emancipation seemed to give general dissatisfaction. However, I had no time to make myself acquainted with the mysteries of the colonial politics, or to inquire into the causes which led to the turbulent opposition of the Dutch; for, my repairs completed, I put to sea again on the 29th of March, and, passing through the Straits of Sunda and Banca, anchored at Singapore in the last week in May.

The aspect of this place is at once neat and highly pleasing, the scenery varied, the borders of the town being trenched upon by the cultivated and cleared ground, and by the masses of foliage of the neighbouring jungle. The government, dependent on that of Bengal, is conducted on the

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1839. most limited and economical scale. I certainly expected to find more of the interior in a cultivated state, and can hardly account for the long neglect of the soil, when an earlier attention to it would have rendered the environs of the city a perfect garden, affording means of support to thousands. Still the territorial prosperity of the island is steadily advancing, and in a few years we may hope to see the site of the wild jungle converted into useful and productive fields.

July 1. *July* 1.—I have been here six weeks, and have visited most parts of the island. Much of the lower ground was originally covered by the sea, and a distinct ridge of sand marks the former beach, one side of which is a clay soil, with oyster and other shells embedded, similar to the present anchorage, whilst the other consists of vegetable mould of great depth. This, though not the peat of Europe, presents the same features of gradual change from the stately forest to the coal mine. The ground, saturated with moisture, is very similar to an Irish bog; and, on digging beneath the surface, trees are found buried, in various stages of decomposition. I intend to dry specimens of the forest peat, and so endeavour to determine the trees which formerly grew upon the island. It would at first appear probable that the decaying vegetable matter is of more ancient date than the peat grounds of Ireland; but we are led to doubt appearances when we consider the rapid progress of decomposition in this climate and the speedy growth of wood. Neither

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can the recessions of the sea have been very recent, as Chinese coins, bearing date seven hundred years ago, and of a dynasty long passed away, which we must conclude to have been formerly used in the trade of the Chinese with the islanders, have been dug up on the present beach. 1839.

Emigrants from the Celestial Empire greatly exceed the natives of all other countries put together, and form the chief mass of labourers and shopkeepers. I know not whether most to admire the Chinese for their many virtues, or to despise them for their glaring defects and vices. Their industry exceeds that of any other people on the face of the earth; they are laborious, patient, and cheerful; but, on the other hand, they are corrupt, supple, and exacting, yielding to their superiors, and tyrannical to those who fall into their power. The most interesting class of Chinese are the squatters in the jungle around the high hill of Buk-el-Temah. Their habitations may be distinguished, like clear specks, amidst the woods, and from each a wreath of smoke arises; the inmates being constantly engaged in the boiling of gambier. We may estimate at nearly two thousand these people, who, straying from the fold of civilisation, become wild and lawless on its very confines.

The nature of the country renders control difficult, if not impossible; so that they may be said to live beyond the reach of all law, and frequently resort to acts of violence and robbery. They are, however, habitually prudent and frugal; and, if

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1839. permitted, would, in the day of their prosperity, lay by a sufficiency to meet any reverse of fortune, and so might gradually emerge from the jungle and commence labour in the town; but this desirable object is defeated by their own countrymen, who, making advances of money on their arrival, and monopolising the supplying of their common wants at an enormous profit, load them with an irredeemable debt, and render them a nuisance, instead of a benefit, to the colony.

Buk-el-Temah is the highest mountain on the island, and from its summit commands a magnificent view. The numberless vessels and boats of every description threading the mazes of the islands and shoals of the Malacca Straits, the variety of prospect, the depth of perspective, the lively green, the freshness of the morning in the dewy jungle, and the entire loneliness and solitude reigning around, struck me as enchanting. In the general clearing of the jungle a few noble and stately trees have been spared on the hill; but, as if disdaining this distinction, they wither in a few years. In fact, deprived of the friendly support of their neighbours, they quickly decay and fall from their own weight. To see the jungle *en masse* is a lovely sight; the towering trunks, crowned with the richest foliage, attract admiration; but, if we examine the individuals isolated, they lose in comparison with those reared in a clearer space. Struggling for air and light amid their companions and rivals, they shoot up straight and tall,

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1839.

and present no fantastic branches, no projecting limbs; and each, supported by the surrounding crowd, loses depth and tenacity of root. They may partly be compared to a body of military; the storm may rage, the lightning blast, the earthquake shake, and, though many fall, the body at large scarcely feels the loss. Separate them, and they will be found far inferior in power to the wild warrior who, accustomed to stand alone, trusts to his own strength and dexterity to bear him through the worst storms of fate.

The Malays of Singapore are a simple-minded but independent people, who would resent ill-usage with more violence than discretion, and appear to have but little idea of the wily craft requisite to enable them to contend with the Chinese. They are frugal and easily satisfied; consequently, they never tax themselves with continued labour, though capable of great exertion for a limited period.

The Chinese bear all the marks of having lived under a despotic government and in a thickly populated country; the Malays, of being the denizens of a beneficent clime, which furnishes sufficient for man's simple wants, without the necessity of toil, and allows him to yield to the dictates of nature or of passion, without care or apparent responsibility.

I have made an excursion round the island with the Governor, Mr. Bonham, whose hospitality and kind-heartedness are proverbial. The cruise was agreeable, but unprofitable. The country, every

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1839. where beautiful with verdure, is one mass of the richest forest, growing in all its tropical luxuriance, displaying that depth of landscape which the artist loves to paint and I delight to look upon. The site of the ancient city of Johore is now scarcely discernible, and a few miserable huts are all that remains to point out the seat of a once powerful capital. Centuries ago, the sultans of Johore held extensive sway in the Eastern Archipelago, and bestowed important benefits on the early trading societies of white men. Is it not sad to think that kingdoms are laid low, and the inhabitants oppressed and dispersed, whenever they come within the grasp of European civilisation? How painful the reflection, that, wherever the white man has set his foot-mark, there the print of the native foot is obliterated, and that as the tender plant withers beneath his tread, so wither the aboriginal inhabitant of the soil! Yet so it is: crime and misery, oppression and death, have ever followed in the track of those enterprising men who first traversed the ocean, either for the purpose of mercantile adventure or of establishing settlements in unknown or distant climes. At this day, not one powerful Malay state exists, and the people themselves are verging towards extinction — slowly perhaps, yet surely.

Borneo is as yet little known; but its coast I am still determined to visit, and am, indeed, only waiting in the hope of securing the services of a medical and scientific man, for I should be sorry

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to enter that magnificent country so rich in objects of natural history without collecting some of the specimens it affords. 1839.

August 1. — I sailed from Singapore on the 27th ultimo; and on the following day, after clearing the South Channel with a baffling breeze and strong tide, hauled to the eastward, and lay across for Victory Island, taking the channel to the southward of Pedra Bianca: I found the tides in the straits very remarkable, the water running chiefly from the eastward to the westward at this particular season; and, though there be an ebb and flow by the shore, the current seems pretty constant. This may be referred to the meeting of the waters of the China Sea and Indian Ocean, at Pulo Pisang, not far from hence. The tide from the Indian Ocean encounters and checks the flood from the eastward, and occasions the rise on shore; and the ebb from Pulo Pisang into the Indian Ocean, allows the escape of the waters, causing the fall on the shore, whilst a current from the China Sea prevents their regular retreat. Occasionally, the tide will run for days as described, with only a feeble ebb; at other times it is more regular. When we consider the oceans which from either side are pouring their rival waters into the straits, the numerous channels with opposing currents, the local causes of aberration from the eccentric form of the land, we shall be prepared for considerable perplexity in explaining the action of the tides. On the 29th and 30th, we had light breezes, with occasional calms; and Aug. 1.

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1839. on the evening of the last-named day, made an island off the coast of Borneo. A prahu sailing along bore down to examine our craft; but, on observing us haul our wind towards her, stood away to the westward. Yesterday, with a gentle and favourable breeze we passed the islands of St. Pierre and Marundam, which are very incorrectly laid down in Horsburg's charts. To-day at noon, we distinctly made out the main land of Borneo; and, steering a course for the low point of Tanjong Api*, anchored, amidst squalls of thunder, lightning, and rain, between it and the island of Marundam.

At length, then, I am on the coast of Borneo. Our work is commenced. I have toiled and sacrificed much for this consummation; and, now that it has arrived, I ask myself if I feel equal to the task. During the whole of my stay at Singapore I enjoyed perfect health; but these few days at sea have brought back the return of my illness; possibly it is the want of exercise and exposure to the heat of the sun, and in an active life I shall again rally. I now see before me a coast almost unknown, and the charts with errors of a degree and more; and vast, indeed, is the field which unfolds itself. My feelings I can hardly describe. They are not those of tumultuous joy at the prospect of success; but, on the contrary, are rather of a composed and quiet nature; a fixed determination to

* Called by the natives Mungu Rasak.—ED.

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gird up my loins and endeavour to effect an object and to perform a service which may eventually be useful to mankind and creditable to myself; whilst, at the same time, I must constantly bear in mind that every step I take must inevitably be fraught with difficulties and dangers. Yet I shrink not from this self-imposed task; for the life, hour by hour, is one of constant excitement — each day's run in the "yacht" is marked with guarded caution — each day's work, as a portion of the whole, secured beyond all accident; and as place succeeds place, and we perfect the knowledge of each, we feel how much we are doing, and how much there is to be done. 1839.

The water along the shore is clear blue; bottom, mud and soft clay, with a tide, at the neap, of one mile per hour. The party we landed report the forest to be partially clear from jungle, and to consist of noble trees: two streams of a brown colour, but fresh and good, run into the sea close to Tanjong Api, where a ship in the south-west monsoon might water. On the sandy beach are some granite blocks below tide mark. No inhabitants were seen, and few objects of natural history. The appearance of the shore proclaims a heavy surf in the north-east monsoon when this entire coast is exposed and dangerous. And here I will close my remarks, written after being forty-eight hours at anchor within a few miles of Tanjong Api.

August 3.—Got under weigh early, and stood into the bay between Points Api and Datu, where Aug. 3.

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1839. we dropped our anchor in four fathoms. The shore is sandy, with a fringe of rocks about a quarter of a mile off, and the inland scenery beautiful.

Aug. 5. *August* 5.—Heavy squalls of wind and rain during the night from every point of the compass,—at daybreak a breeze. Got under weigh, and passed Point Datu at 9 A.M. Beyond this all is darkness,—land in many directions; but we are ignorant of it, and find the information we obtained at Singapore quite insufficient to guide us. Anchored again at night.

Aug. 7. *August* 7.—In the evening I landed on the large island of Talang Talang with two boats' crews. This island abounds with cream-coloured pigeons similar to those in Banca Straits; but they were so wild and shy that only one was shot, and that unfit for a specimen. At its western extremity are the fort and residence of the Malays, situated on a cliff a hundred feet in height. The inhabitants have guns to protect them from the pirates, numbers of whom, the chief assured me, resort to this bay yearly during the season, from the Sulu sea. The Illanuns, from his description, appear to be the most numerous and formidable. The principal geographical feature of this bay is Gunong Poè, which here towers from the edge of the water; but I must be better acquainted with the coast generally before I enter into any discussion on its details; and must now give all my attention to the necessary arrangements for going up the Sarāwak river.

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CHAP. II.

ARRIVAL AT SARĀWAK. — INTERVIEWS WITH MUDA HASSIM. — PERMISSION TO VISIT THE INTERIOR. — DYAK TRIBES. — CURIOUS CUSTOMS. — VISIT OF MAKOTA. — RESOURCES OF SARĀWAK. — DYAK OF LUNDU — HIS ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF HIS NATION. — RECAPITULATION OF EVENTS. — ASCENT OF DIFFERENT RIVERS. — ATTACK OF PIRATES.

1839.

Aug. 18.

August 18. — Nearly a fortnight has passed away, and I have much to relate. After remaining three days off that part of the coast between the river Lundu and Santobong, occupied in surveying and getting the principal points of land laid down on the chart, I shaped a course for the entrance of the Sarāwak, and, on the 12th, despatched my gig up the river to communicate with the authorities. On the following day the boat returned, accompanied by a large prahu, which was sent down by the rajah Muda Hassim expressly to compliment me on my arrival, and the pangēran, who was deputed to convey the rajah's congratulations on my advent, was not a little delighted at receiving a salute of five guns, and being, moreover, entertained on board the Royalist, with his numerous followers, for twenty-four hours.

Two days more brought the Royalist to Sarāwak; and, after firing a royal salute, I intimated my intention of paying the rajah a complimentary visit, and soon afterwards found myself seated in

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1839. the hall of audience, where his brother pangēran Mahommed, Makota, and other chiefs were also assembled. The interview occupied about half an hour. Most of the chiefs were richly dressed, and the greatest deference was paid to the rajah and pangērans, by the numerous attendants, who were seated around and maintained a respectful silence. This being a state visit, little was said beyond mere court phrases, and the usual compliments and expression of friendship; but towards the evening I went again on shore, and paid a second visit, during which Muda Hassim took me aside, and at once expressed his esteem for the English nation, and his anxious desire to cultivate friendly relations with the British government, and to open a trade with Singapore. On the following morning, the rajah came on board the Royalist, in considerable state, with his fourteen brothers and numerous followers, and remained for a couple of hours.

He received a salute of twenty-one guns; presents were exchanged, and the visit terminated to the satisfaction of all parties. We had some conversation relative to the rebellion going on up the river; but the rajah and his ministers declared it to be almost suppressed, and of no consequence; upon which I immediately requested permission to visit the interior, and was agreeably surprised at receiving a cheerful consent to proceed to such parts of the country as are known to be quiet and orderly.

The Dyaks of Sibŭyōw, located at Lundu, are represented as numerous. I trust, God willing,

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soon to have an opportunity of describing them minutely from my personal knowledge; but I may now mention some curious facts I have gathered from the cleverest man here (Makota). The natives of Lundu, Sarēbas, and Bintulu speak *different* languages, and vary greatly in dress and habits. Those of Lundu and Sarēbas do not use the sumpitan or blowpipe, nor are they tatooed like the Bintulu Dyaks. These latter use the sumpitan, and are elaborately tatooed. Their ears are extended till they reach to the shoulders, and ornamented with strings of bells, which descend to the girdle. Their covering round the waist is composed of the bark of trees, and they are very expert as woodsmen. 1839.

These facts may be worth recording, should I not visit Bintulu. The tatooing, and the use of the sumpitan, while they offer some presumption of affinity with the South Sea islanders, would prove them to be a different people from other tribes of Borneo, bearing the common and vague denomination of Dyaks.

How interesting would be a vocabulary of their several languages, especially that of Bintulu! and procured *it shall be*, if stout hearts and gaudy presents can effect it.

I may here remark, that the Malays pronounce the word *Dyak* as if it contained no *k*.

In the evening I was surprised by an intimation that the pangēran Makota would visit us without ceremony.

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1839. He is a relation of Muda Hassim, and the ruler of this country or province, in the absence of the rajah. He arrived between seven and eight o'clock, with only one attendant, our first friend, pangēran Illudeen. I may be excused a brief description of Makota, a man of much ability and seemingly free from the common faults of his countrymen. His appearance is plain, but good-humoured and intelligent; and his countenance has few traces of a Malay descent. His manners, schooled, perhaps, by subtle dissimulation, seem at once lively, frank, and engaging; his descriptions of countries and people are so graphic that it is difficult to doubt their fidelity. He stated openly the reason of his visit, which was to discuss with me the future conduct of the trade of this place. He talked much and well of the English and Dutch; informed me that the latter had offered to assist him in opening the mines here, and had requested permission to trade. He represented this province as rich in ores and other commodities. Antimony, he said, might be obtained in any quantity; and that the hills likewise yielded tin and gold; and that wax, rattans, and birds' nests could likewise be procured.

The war being finished, he proposed availing himself of these resources. Would there be a certainty henceforward of English ships coming in sufficient numbers to take these commodities? I readily answered, "Certainly! ships, wherever they could drive a profitable trade, would be sure to

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come, if secure from danger of outrage." He requested me to make my views known to Muda Hassim, and I consented to do so. He added, the affair will then be settled. After which he took his leave, having held with me a conversation as satisfactory as I hope it will be advantageous. 1839.

When I have the interview with the rajah on this subject, I shall enter into the question more at large.

August 19.—The pangēran Makota came, after breakfast, to say that the rajah was too unwell to see us; but that he would be happy to converse with me on the subject of trade, as soon as he should be a little better. At the same time, Makota brought me a Dyak—a real living Dyak of Lundu—whom I kept aboard for some hours, to gain as much information from him as I could; and, from the manner in which it was given, I entertain no doubt of its truth and fidelity. He spoke Malay indifferently, and with a very strong accent, but sufficiently well to be understood. He had been absent from his tribe five months, by order of the rajah Makota, and was now about to return. On being asked whether he would proceed in our boat to Lundu, he answered, he would do so willingly. His complexion was somewhat darker than that of the generality of Malays. The countenance intelligent, the eye quick and wandering; the forehead of a medium height. His stature was five feet two inches, his limbs were well formed and muscular, the ankles and knees Aug. 19.

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1839. small; and his chest was expanded. He walked well and erectly, and bore every mark of his physical powers having been developed by constant exercise. He was by no means shy or reserved, but answered readily to our questions, and often, when they exceeded his power of comprehension, made us repeat them. I asked him, at first, whether we could go to Lundu, and whether they would be glad to see us. His tribe, he replied, both men and women, would be much pleased to have Europeans with them, so that we might rest assured of a kind reception. This native, whose title was pangawa, gave me the following information:—

His tribe lived at Lundu, which was not situated on the river. The Sibŭyōw live on the river, and are the first we shall see. Silakow is not far from Lundu, near the territory of Sambas. The Kurah live in the same neighbourhood, half a day's journey from Sibŭyōw. Amongst these tribes they have never had war, but the Dyaks of Sarēbas sometimes attack them. The Sarēbas tribe is strong, and fond of fighting. The Bintulu tribe good, and tatooed. His tribe never tatooed themselves. They do not use the sumpitan. They eat every thing—hogs, snakes, &c. They have heads in their houses: it is a custom amongst them. *Q.* How do they get the heads? *A.* Whenever they have a fight, they preserve them. *Q.* Do they go on purpose to catch people and cut off their heads? *A.* Never. *Q.* Do your tribe practise the ceremony

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GROUP OF LUNDU DYAKS, SARĀWAK

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1839.

of mixing the blood of the stranger with that of their chief? and after drinking are they brothers? *A.* No: my tribe do not, but at Rejang and Bintulu they do so. *Q.* Could I go to Rejang and Bintulu? *A.* Yes: I will go with you if you wish. *Q.* When a Dyak chief dies, what do they do with his body? *A.* They take it into the jungle, place it on a platform, and build a house over it with a railing around. *Q.* Who gets the property the chief leaves? *A.* His wife and children. *Q.* In the house of the dead man do they put any thing? *A.* Yes: the heads he had in his life, drinking-vessels, and the clothes he wore. *Q.* Do they put food there? *A.* Yes. *Q.* What food? *A.* Hog or deer; (adding) after that there is a feast. *Q.* Do they eat the food put with the dead chief? *A.* No: that is left with him. *Q.* When they want a wife, how do they get one? *A.* (Describing it on the table with a cigar and two pens) The man must go to the father; then, if the father likes, he lets him have his daughter. *Q.* Does the man give the father any present? *A.* Yes: clothes, food, &c. *Q.* How many wives can a man marry? *A.* One: when she dies, he gets another. *Q.* When a wife comes to her husband's house, is there any ceremony? *A.* Yes: they give a feast. *Q.* Who gives the feast? *A.* Both father and husband. *Q.* Have they any priests amongst them, who say prayers? *A.* No: Malays have plenty. *Q.* When a chief dies, what becomes of his spirit? *A.* It goes into the clouds! *Q.* When the chief dies and goes into the clouds, do you ever see him again? *A.* No:

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1839. but when his friend dies too, they will meet. *Q.* Amongst these spirits, is there one great spirit above the rest? *A.* (He seemed only half to comprehend, and on the question being repeated, said), I do not know; but there are a great many spirits of my countrymen in the clouds; others are not there. *Q.* Did he know there was a God? (The word Allah was used.) *A.* Yes. *Q.* What is God? He had heard the word, but did not know what it meant. *Q.* Do the Dyaks offer sacrifices, or pray like the Islamites? *A.* They offer sacrifice of hog and deer. *Q.* To whom do they offer sacrifice? *A.* To Biādūm. *Q.* Who is Biādūm? *A.* A great Dyak chief of former days. *Q.* Biādūm — is he one person, or are there many like him? *A.* Biādūm is one person. *Q.* Do they ever offer sacrifice to any other spirit? *A.* Never — never; to Biādūm alone! *Q.* Did they ever see Biādūm? *A.* No: the people of former days saw him! *Q.* Who sends snow, lightning, thunder, and rain? *A.* Biādūm. (Here my visitor showed such unequivocal signs of weariness, that I ordered him something to eat, and he partook of salt beef, biscuit, and grog.) I closed our questions by asking him — Are many of your tribe converted to Islam? *A.* Yes, a good many. *Q.* Are you of Islam? *A.* No: I do not want to be (laughing). After his dinner, I got him to write down an extensive vocabulary, with great care, repeating the words, after some time had elapsed, to see whether he understood them again. I then dismissed my wild man for the day,

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in the hope of having a more extended vocabulary ere long. I observed that almost all the words are accented on the ultimate syllable, and to pronounce them it requires a great stress to be laid on it. Verbs I omitted, because I considered them very likely to be misunderstood and confounded with nouns. 1839.

August 20. — I purposed starting for Samarahan this afternoon, but was recommended by the rajah to postpone it till to-morrow. The rajah Makota passed this evening with us, and the Dyak chief of the Sebŭyōw tribe came on board to see and assure us of a welcome among his people. I postpone all remarks on these Dyaks until I visit them. The name of the chief was Sijūgāh. His son was called Bunsīe. Aug. 20.

Captain Mundy's Narrative.

The journal of the voyage up the river Sarāwak, and the proceedings of Mr. Brooke with the rajah Muda Hassim, the chiefs, and people of that district, having appeared at length in a late publication, I shall now briefly offer a narrative of the principal occurrences which took place during that expedition.

It will be remembered that Mr. Brooke, on leaving Singapore, had taken on board the Royalist an assortment of presents of British manufacture, which he conceived would be most acceptable to the native princes, one of the principal objects of this hazardous undertaking being to open a new and rich country to the enterprise of the British

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1839. merchant. The Royalist anchored in the reach close to the town of Sarāwak on the 15th of August, and the astonishment of the semi-barbarous inhabitants at seeing a small schooner, the entire crew of which did not amount in number to a third of the crew of one of their war prahus, boldly ascend twenty miles into the interior, and quietly take up her berth off the residence of the rajah, may easily be conceived; and it would appear that the courage and audacity of such a proceeding, if it did not paralyse any attempt at a hostile movement, may at any rate have excited the admiration of the assembled natives, and have impressed them with awe and reverence for the white strangers.

Whatever may have been the first impressions in the breasts of these people, it was soon apparent that the feeling of the mass was a friendly one; and, due precautions having been taken for the security of the yacht, Mr. Brooke immediately trusted his person to the good faith of the chiefs, and, proceeding on shore, entered upon the object of his visit. The province of Sarāwak was at that period in arms against the authority of the sultan, and the rajah, Muda Hassim, at once the governor of the country and the uncle of the sovereign, was busily engaged endeavouring to suppress the rebellion. Probably it may have entered his mind, that the unlooked-for advent of an English traveller might be turned to his advantage in the campaign about to commence on one of the neighbouring rivers,

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where the rebels had succeeded in strongly intrenching themselves; and it is also probable that with this view every civility was shown to Mr. Brooke, and the consent of the rajah readily obtained for his visiting that portion of the country still firm in its allegiance. 1839.

After remaining a week at the anchorage, the required passport was duly furnished, and Mr. Brooke, in the long boat of his yacht, escorted by a few native prahus, moved down the river, and passed out into the Moratabas. After an ascent of eighty miles up the Samarahan, the pangēran, or chief of the escort, declared that the Dyaks were every where hostile; and, as he was responsible to the rajah for the safety of Mr. Brooke, he insisted on returning to Sarāwak, which they reached again after an absence of only four days. During this period, besides a hasty survey, a cursory glance at the villages of Sibow, Sīniawin, and Rembas was all that could be obtained. After five days' repose on board the yacht, Mr Brooke again set forth on the 30th of August with the same flotilla and guides, and, proceeding to the entrance of the Lundu river, reached the Sibŭyōw town of Tungong on the 1st of September, when the immense size of the Dyak buildings first attracted his attention, the dimensions of the largest house being 594 feet long, with a proportionate breadth; and the decorations of the interior the most prized being skulls of enemies slain in war or surprised by craft. The whole community residing in this dwelling amounted

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1839. to 400 souls. I will not, however, enter into any further description of this place and its wild inhabitants, as the reader will presently have most interesting details placed before him from the pen of Mr. Brooke himself. I shall briefly remark, that, after a week's cruize, during which, owing to the distracted state of the country, it was impossible to remain long in any of the rivers, our enterprising traveller returned again to Sarāwak; and, after paying the usual complimentary visits to the rajah Muda Hassim, from whom he received assurance of an earnest desire to encourage lawful commerce, he sailed on his return voyage to Singapore, on the 20th of September.

It was, however, destined that Mr. Brooke should not leave the coast of Borneo without personal proof of the "violence that walked abroad;" for, having anchored the Royalist off the Sadung, the prahu of his friend the panglima was suddenly attacked under the shadows of evening, by the pirates of Sarēbas, when the panglima and several of his men were severely wounded; and, but for the opportune discharge of the guns of the yacht, the whole party would have been slaughtered.

The Royalist reached Singapore in safety after an absence of two months, during which time Mr. Brooke had seen quite sufficient to make him deeply interested in the future fortune of Sarāwak. The probability, however, of the civil war continuing for many months rendering an early return injudicious, he decided on making an ex-

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cursion to Celebes, the inhabitants of which had been described as a very extraordinary and partially civilised race; and, all arrangements being completed, he left the Straits for that part of the Archipelago in the middle of November, taking with him, as before, a large assortment of British goods as presents to the chiefs and people. 1839.

The details of this expedition, which extended over a period of six months, will now be given from the Diary of Mr. Brooke, written on the spot.

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CHAP. III.

DEPARTURE FROM SINGAPORE, AND ARRIVAL OFF CELEBES. — ROMANTIC WATERFALL. — ASCENT OF LUMPU BATANG. — BONTHIAN. — CORAL REEFS. — DISTRICTS AND ISLANDS ALONG THE COAST. — LETTER TO THE KING OF BONI — HIS ANSWER. — DAIN MATARA. — STRANGE REPORTS. — ASPECT OF THE COAST. — KING'S REFUSAL TO SEE MR. BROOKE. — SUPPOSED ANTIQUITIES. — NEGOTIATIONS. — CUSTOMS OF THE COUNTRY. — AN ARAB FRIEND. — CONSTITUTION OF BONI. — ELECTION OF THE KING. — ANCIENT CONGRESS. — FEAST OF THE LOR DATA. — OPINION OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES. — PRESENT CONDITION OF BONI. — THE SI DENDRING SUCCESSION.

1840. *January* 1. 1840. — On this, the first day of a new year, I will endeavour to give a succinct account of my proceedings since my departure from Singapore, on the 20th of November. Our passage to this island has been most tedious. Many days of light winds, succeeded by calms, brought us after three weeks' labour in sight of Celebes; and the first glimpses of the mountain ranges are highly picturesque, and the general appearance of the country such as to make the first impressions extremely favourable. Bonthian hill, towards the extreme southern point, has a bold and grand outline, and terminates the line of mountains which stretch from the northward. We were well received by the Dutch officers, and I was much gratified at the opportunity afforded me of visiting the celebrated

Jan. 1. Mr. Brooke's Journal.

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1840.

waterfall, which is truly magnificent from the romantic scenery with which it is in every direction surrounded, and from the charm attached to its undisturbed solitude and complete seclusion. Then we had shooting amongst the hills in the vicinity of Bonthian, and rides about the country, in all of which excursions I found my Bugis guide and companion, Dain Matara, most intelligent and useful.

We visited Senua, Lengang, and Lokar; pleasant villages, situated in a country rich in natural beauty and tropical vegetation; the level grounds being in a high state of cultivation for the growing of rice, whilst other parts afforded excellent pasture for cattle and horses. At Lokar we first caught sight of the summit of Lumpu Batang; and, after much discussion with our guide, induced him to proceed, and, on the afternoon of the third day after our departure from Bonthian, we had the pleasure of standing on the highest peak of the mountain. On the 23d, we again reached Bonthian in safety, and I had the satisfaction of being the first European that had succeeded in gaining the summit of this mountain.

From Bonthian I came on to Boela Komba, near which there is plenty of game. The next point is Tanjong Berak; the country to point Labu belongs to the Dutch. Here, also, is the island of Balunrueh 400 feet high; off which are several coral reefs, and among these we are now at anchor in twenty-three fathoms.

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1840.

Jan. 3. *January* 3. — Sailing from Balunrueh on the 1st, we reached Songi this morning, when I immediately despatched a messenger to the rajah of Lamatti offering to pay my respects.

Jan. 5. *January* 5.—We sailed from Songi yesterday, and are now amongst numerous reefs and shoals, threading our way with some difficulty. There is a speck of an island, called Balūfu or Balupo, and the next prominent object is the hill and point of Meru, with a woody island off it. Somewhat inland stands the hill called Patiwöngi, which constitutes a good landmark for this part of the bay. Leaving the Lamatti we passed the district and stream of Sajuru, next to which is that of Anchu, with another small river, then Salomeko, and then Meru. To the southward of Meru the land falls into a deep but narrow bay. Anchored at Meru about half-past five P. M., having outrun the nacodah's boat. Breeze strong off the land, but smooth water.

Jan. 6. *January* 6. — At four A. M. set the sails, and hove short, then waited for daylight, when we got under weigh. Many reefs were to be seen all around. Tanjong Salanketo is a low point, and at intervals from it stretch three patches, called Mamarnē. Our passage lay to the eastward of the third patch, and between it and a large reef, which extended along our starboard hand as far as the eye could reach. Passing within a short distance of Mamarnē, which seems to be composed of sand and rock, we had ten fathom water, muddy bottom. It is needless to enumerate every patch and reef in

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detail, as they will best be seen in the chart. From Salanketo the water becomes shallower, but outside the headland the least depth we had was seven fathoms, deepening again to ten on approaching Patiro, and eight passing the pitch of the point at half a mile distant. Off Patiro is a patch of white sand and coral, the passage lying between it and the point. 1840.

Having sailed by Patiro, we anchored in eight fathoms, the breeze being strong dead ahead for going into the bay, and the navigation, by the nacodah's account, very intricate. The following are the districts, or rajahates, continued from Meru: Meru Bulu, Bulu, Bono, Murio, Salanketo, Data, Kaju, Boniè (with a considerable town on the shore), and Patiro. Patiwöngi and Meru hills seem the last of the spur which comes from the Lumpu Batang range; but inland a chain of eminences runs to the northward and westward. In lieu, however, of the former range, a distant mountain of great height becomes visible a considerable distance off to the northward. The name is Latimojong, and the natives say it is far higher than either Lumpu Batang or Wawa Karang. There are two points at Patiro close together, and a short distance further is Tanjong Chumenè. The land then trends into a bay to the westward, which is low, and terminates with Tanjong Palettè. Into this bay our two native guides are now gone, to a town called Bajuè, which, according to them, is near Boni. It is difficult, however, to reconcile

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1840. these accounts with the chart; for on the latter, though Patiro, Bajuè, and Palettè are all named, they are placed far to the southward of Boni, which is represented as being situated near the mouth of the river of that name, forty miles from Bajuè, whereas our guides state it to be inland three hours' walk. Much depends on my interview with the king. Dain Matara * is clever and manages well, and I have sent the great man a most polite letter, explaining my situation and my wishes.

Our boat returned in the afternoon from Bajuè, after acquainting the King of Boni with our arrival and wish to visit him.

He returned for answer, that he should be glad to receive us, but that it would be previously necessary to call together the other different rajahs, in order to have their opinion and advice. Dain Matara gave me a curious and laughable account of the reports current amongst the natives. Five ships, it was represented, were on their way to

* "Dain Matara, my Bugis companion," says Mr. Brooke in his Journal, "was a man well born; and, for his country, affluent and educated. He offered at Singapore to accompany me on this expedition, refusing all pay or remuneration, and stating that the good name to be acquired, and the pleasure of seeing different places, would recompense him. At first, I must own, this disinterestedness rendered me suspicious; but, conceiving that the greatest utility might accrue from his assistance, I agreed to take him and his servant. Our long passage served to make us well acquainted, and, I believe, raised a mutual confidence. Dain, cheerful, good-tempered, and intelligent, gained daily on my esteem; and, by the time we quitted Bonthian, I was rejoiced that he had accompanied me

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Boni, to form an alliance with the king to expel the Dutch from the island, and, in case of refusal, to declare war on Boni itself. I was said to bring five chests of silver for the chief, and three for the other principal rajahs, and that my intention, or rather the intention of the government, was inimical to their independence. No wonder, therefore, that some hesitation was manifested, although the king became assured that only one small schooner, instead of five ships of war, had arrived in his dominions. At the same time, to show the minute intelligence conveyed concerning us, it was mentioned to Dain, that we had been to the top of Lumpu Batang, and that we had put a written paper into a bottle, which, after being carefully sealed, had been left on the summit of the mountain. 1840.

The same reports gave us some clue (whether true or false I shall presently determine) to the source of this information. A man on horseback had arrrived from Komba to communicate this intelligence. Its truth would not surprise me; but I think I can triumph over these evil impressions by a candid and open proceeding, and unravel the dirty web which is set to keep me out of Boni.

January 7. — Wooding near Tanjong Patiro. Strong breezes from the westward. Jan. 7.

January 8. — Under weigh after breakfast; but, when we had proceeded a few miles, the weather came on thick and rainy, which compelled us to anchor. Strong breezes at W.N.W. with rain Jan. 8.

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1840. during the rest of the day; drove from our small anchor, and let go the bower. After bringing to, sent the long boat to Boni for provisions, which came off in the evening. The people were kindly treated, and orders had been received from the king to supply our wants. The sabundar, at the same time, expressed himself certain that the king would receive us in a day or two.

Off Cape Patiro the flood tide comes from the south, the ebb from the north, but not strong, though the rise and fall are considerable.

Jan. 9. *January* 9. — Lay at anchor: rainy and bad.

Jan. 10. *January* 10. — At 5 P.M. got under weigh, and beat in as near Bajué as we could approach. There are a few scattered shoals in and about our anchorage, amidst reefs with fishing-stakes on them. Seven and a half fathoms, soft bottom. Two hours' journey inland from Bajuè is the capital of Boni, the residence of the king and his principal people. As I have before stated, a spur of the mountain range of Lumpu Batang descends behind Sangi, and continues somewhat inland beyond Bajuè. The country immediately close to the sea is low, and probably alluvial; further in, it rises into hills, and terminates in the above-mentioned spur, which may average about 2000 feet. Beyond Bajuè the continuous range is broken (as far as I can perceive); but detached mountains and hills stretched beyond Tanjong Palettè, and probably join the chain of Latimojong. Tanjong Palettè, which, with Patiro, encloses the Bay of Bajuè, shows

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exactly like an island when it first appears, and a person not entering the bay might conclude it to be one, as the land to the westward of it recedes and is quite low. Palettè is wooded and superior in elevation to the adjoining coast. 1840.

It is needless to remark here the extreme defects of our existing charts, which are so incorrect in latitude as to make it very doubtful whether the bay has not been laid down from native information. Some names are right, but the situations are often forty or fifty miles from their true places.

After breakfast I sent a boat ashore, and was provoked, on its return, to find that my letter, which was to have been forwarded two days ago, had been sent back, with a polite message that it could not be delivered before I met the king.

No time could be specified when the interview would be granted, and I was merely informed that in ten or twelve days it was probable that the various people summoned might be gathered together. I have not been idle, however, since my arrival off the coast, in collecting information; and, being convinced that a sinister influence is at work to delay, or even prevent, my meeting the king, I am resolved to proceed at once on my voyage after a final interview with the sabundar and interpreter. On a future occasion, I propose detailing the particulars I have collected concerning the condition and politics of Boni; and in the mean time, by leaving them to muster their barbaric state, I shall show them, at all events, that my wish to visit the king

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1840. arose purely from the alleged, and not any hidden, motive. The interview would only have been gratifying, as far as I am personally concerned, because it would have allowed me to see portions of the country and to seek for Hindú remains which rumour states exist in this vicinity. One or two natives tell me they *have heard* that there is a large excavation under a hill, full of figures of men and beasts. To see this would have gratified me much, as, if it exist, it probably bears some resemblance to Elephanta and other similar caves. I can procure no guide to the place; but could I find a man acquainted with the locality, it is not the Boni king who would keep me out.

Jan. 11. *January* 11. — At daylight sent the long boat ashore with the interpreter, Mr. Poons, to *insist* on the sabundar's receiving my letter to the king. Mr. Poons, however, in his usual manner, remained on shore until eleven o'clock, gossiping, and then brought back the letter, having been talked over to forget his instructions. I again despatched him, with more positive orders, and he continued ashore till dusk, the sabundar having during the interval set off for Boni. About five o'clock, however, I was favoured with a visit from an Arab, a quick intelligent fellow, extremely civil, and *my very good friend*. He explained to me the customs of the country — the invariable rule that there must be a muster of all the king's relations and chiefs before a stranger could be admitted to an audience — the disinclination of the tomarilalan, or

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prime minister, to receive any Englishman, he being devoted to the Dutch interest — his great influence over the king — the folly of presenting any letter through him — and, finally, offering to convey the letter privately to the rajah pangawa. 1840.

Not being at all assured of my visitor's good faith, and quite certain that he was on board to observe and to report, I continued very guarded, and certainly, *where a man has nothing to conceal he makes an excellent diplomatist.* In conclusion, after a very long conversation, he said he had been sent by the pangawa, who would deliver my letter secretly to the king, as both were anxious to see me, and only deterred by the minister. It was agreed that I should sail in the morning, and, anchoring at some distance, await his coming. To all this I readily consented, as it might work good, and could do no harm. I learnt, moreover, that there was a cave such as I have described, and the name Mampo. Mr. Poons having returned with the unfortunate letter, it was delivered to our Arab guest, who, after drinking some glasses of claret, and smoking divers cigars, took his leave, with promises to see us again to-morrow evening, or the day following.

The state of Boni, now the most powerful in Celebes, is of recent origin, and presents the curious spectacle of an aristocratic elective monarchy. The king is chosen by the aru pitu, or rajah pitu, or seven men or rajahs. The aru pitu, besides being the elective body, hold the

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1840. great offices of state, and thus, during the lifetime of a king of their own choice, continue the responsible rulers of the country. The tomarilalan is prime minister and treasurer; and, though not a member of the elective body, is the sole medium of communication with the king. Upon the death of one of the aru pitu, his successor is appointed by the remaining six; so that, in fact, the aristocratic body not only elects a king, but is likewise self-elective.

From this form of government it is evident that the entire power rests with the aru pitu as long as they are agreed amongst themselves; but as it often, and we may conclude generally, happens that they are divided, the majority is not sufficient to carry a question. During the lifetime of the king, the deciding voice rests with him, should the aru pitu not be unanimous; but in cases of election to the sovereign power, the decision becomes more difficult, and the tomarilalan, though he nominally becomes king pending the period of the election, seldom has power to decide between the contending parties. A general assembly is then convened of all the inferior rajahs of the country and the influential men who hold office in the different provinces, and the voice of this popular assemblage greatly influences, though it does not decide, the election. Each party by this public appeal tests its strength, and the weaker is fain to give way; often, however, the final appeal is to the sword, or the question is delayed from time to

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time, the powers of government being carried on by the aru pitu, with the tomarilalan at their head, until a change is effected in the sentiments or circumstances of the adverse factions. 1840.

Sometimes this delay has been known to extend to two or three years, and the final settlement made without the occurrence of a civil war. The election concluded, the rajah of Boni, or, according to his native title, patamankowè, becomes the head of the state, without equal; and in this respect the kingdom of Boni differs from Wajo, as I shall hereafter show. But although the supreme head, the patamankowè, cannot act independently of the aru pitu; questions of peace or war, of internal policy, the administration of justice, and all the exigencies and acts of government, are referred to this council, the king only giving the final deciding voice when they differ amongst themselves.

Besides this aristocratic form of internal government, it was once the custom to hold an assembly or congress of the different Bugis rajahs and councils, which decided all questions of dispute, concluded alliances offensive and defensive, and settled many questions of contested succession which tended to produce a general rupture. Unfortunately, however, this congress is no more.

We perceive the rudiments of improvement, a glimmering of better things, in this constitution of Boni; but we must not for an instant suppose that it works any benefit to the community generally:

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1840. duction to its present condition and prospects. Going back for some time (probably about a period of ten years), we shall find the Dutch and Bugis nations inimical to each other, and frequently at war. At that period arose a contest for the succession to the country of Si Dendring, near the kingdom of Wajo, between two brothers; the elder by name Lappa Tongi, or by title the datu lompola, and the younger, Lappa Gnorisan. The right of the question I shall decide at some future time; but the result of this dispute was a war in which the Dutch sided with Lappa Gnorisan, and the present tomarilalan took part with Lappa Tongi. The consequence of course was, that Lappa Gnorisan became the devoted servant and follower of the Dutch, who, faithful to their ally, advanced his interests in Si Dendring. I am not aware what immediate results sprang from the last contest; but certain it is, that Lappa Gnorisan has gained many advantages over his elder brother, and possesses all the district of Si Dendring. The struggles between the brothers have occupied a considerable time; and during this period, the tomarilalan having spent a year at Makassar, became by some unaccountable means the firm friend of the Dutch. His conversion to their interest has greatly altered the condition of the struggle for Si Dendring, and has likewise given the Netherlands government a firmer hold on this country than it ever before possessed.

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CHAP. IV.

TONJONG PALETTÈ. — THE ORANG BAJOW. — NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE LETTER. — SAILING DIRECTIONS. — A WAJO MAN'S ADVICE. — PERSECUTION OF THE NATIVES. — INTERVIEW WITH THE RAJAH PANGAWA. — CONVERSATION WITH HIM. — DESCRIPTION OF THE RAJAHS. — STRIKING APPEARANCE OF THE NATIVE FLEET. — QUARRELS OF NATIVES. — APPEARANCE OF COAST. — DIRECTIONS FOR NAVIGATION. — BAY OF PENEKÈ. — FORMATION OF LAND. — MAGNIFICENT COSTUME. — HORSEMANSHIP OF THE RAJAHS.

1840.
Jan. 12.

January 12. — Got under weigh, and beat about a short time, but came to, as I liked not the look of the passage round Tonjong Palettè. In the evening went to the point, which is cut off from the main by a small inlet. This island and point are composed of coral of different ages, deposited in irregular waves, each with its intermediate valley evidently formed by water. Here and there, amid coral wells, are basins. The height of the island is about forty or fifty feet, and the whole is covered with trees. A soaking tropical rain drenched us on our return.

Jan. 13.

January 13. — Wind dead ahead. A party of Bajow came aboard, and, since the visit of our Arab friend, many natives have come off. The Orang Bajow resemble the Bugis and Malays. They have no country, live in boats, carry on a trade in tortoise-shell, bêche de mer, &c. They possess no distinct written characters, but their oral language is dif-

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1840. ferent from the Bugis, though, as far as I can perceive, strongly resembles it and the Malay in structure. They say they have books of laws (ondang ondang), written in the Bugis character, and a tradition that they originally came from the kingdom of Luwu. I hope to see more of them, and get some of their books, as well as a good vocabulary of their language.

In the evening came our Arab, Seid Mahomed. The negotiation progresses favourably, but slowly; and I shall proceed, likewise, as soon as I can. The pangawa longs to see us; the young rajahs desire it greatly. The letter has been read, and the patomankowè informed of its contents. The tomarilalan is alone ignorant of this affair. I propose proceeding, however, when I can.

Jan. 15. *January* 15.—Dain accompanied Seid Mahomed ashore the evening before last, and returned to-day, with no satisfactory intelligence. There is much talk, with many rumours concerning us. It is certain the pangawa wishes us to be received, but the superior power of the tomarilalan prevents it. The weather rainy and blowing, so we could do but little elsewhere; nevertheless, I am tired of these delays, and conceive they may be only so many stratagems to detain me. I amended my previous information by a more correct list of the aru pitu.* The tomarilalan is not one of them, but a ba-

* 1. Aru Ujong; 2. Aru Tannetè; 3. Aru Timojong; 4. Aru Machege; 5. Aru Tah; 6. Aru Pouching. Each, in case of absence, is able to appoint a proxy, or salawatan.

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lancing power, and the medium of communication between them and the king. It seems, however, that the power of the aru pitu is decayed, while that of the tomarilalan has increased; and I can easily credit this from the absolute sway the present prime minister appears to exercise. 1840.

January 16. — Unpleasant morning. In the afternoon it cleared, when I got under weigh, and beat with a light breeze through the passage between Lakatampah and two smaller shoals near the shore. There is five and six fathom water through; but the passage is not more than three quarters of a mile wide, and its approaches are straightened by shoals near the shore. Passing Palettè at a moderate distance, in from five to seven fathom water, the low point of Lowni appears in sight. From Palettè you must not steer to the eastward of Lowni, as there is a patch of rock which lies a little out to the northward and eastward. We did not see it. Short of Lowni is the river of Chinrana, off which we anchored. The town is some distance up the stream; but the straggling village of Latonro stands close to its mouth. Jan. 16.

January 17. — Off Chinrana river. At 5 P. M. despatched Dain in the gig for Wajo. At the mouth of the Chinrana he was stopped, however, under threats of being fired upon if he tried to proceed. Accordingly he returned. I sent my long boat for water, and she is yet absent. Shortly after the boat's return, an old Wajo man of respec- Jan. 17.

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1840. tability came off, and advised me to proceed to Penekè, in the territory of Wajo. If he succeeds in getting us a man to act as guide, it will be my best plan, though the determined hostility of the Boni court rather inclines me to set them at defiance.

A very fresh breeze sprang up in the forenoon. The long boat returned, having got water; but, in consequence of the sea's rising, our old Wajo hajji was unable to go ashore in his canoe. Towards evening, the wind moderating, I sent him in the long boat to a small stream in the bight of the bay. They were received, however, with the same hostility as at the mouth of the river, and instantly ordered off; and the poor hajji, on account of having been guilty of boarding the schooner, was not permitted to land. At every point they seem to have raised the population against us; preposterous stories are spread abroad concerning our bad intentions; and half a dozen Bugis prahus, returning from Singapore, are magnified into a hostile squadron. Besides this, we are accused of spreading contagion through the country; so that wherever we have landed, hundreds of men are asserted to have died of disease. My patience is greatly tried by this petty persecution, and forbearance almost forsakes me. To secure my little remaining stock, however, I shall proceed to-morrow to Penekè, which is on the sea-coast of the Wajo country.

How different are one's feelings in a state of

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calm, from what they are when roused by continued opposition and insult! yet I must ever stamp it on my mind, ever and ever recur to the same just principle, that any collision with these poor people would be as barbarous as unjustifiable. It rests with me alone to forbear. All about me would plunge forward, take and give offence, and cause the shedding of blood, and innocent blood. Patience, patience, then! patience! 1840.

January 18. — Chinrana. Our horizon again cleared this morning, on the arrival of Seid Mahomed with intelligence that orders had been issued to allow our boats to enter the river and proceed to Wajo; and that the rajah pangawa intended making a hunting party, when we could meet without obstruction. Dain Matara accordingly accompanied the Arab ashore, in order to ascertain the truth of his news, and likewise to proceed to Boni. The civility of the people proves the correctness of the first statement, and the other may likewise happen. Jan. 18.

January 19.—At dusk our ambassadors returned. Dain had seen the rajah pangawa, and been well received. I am expected to-morrow, and am to meet this chief near Palettè. Jan. 19.

January 20. — Started for Palettè with a fresh breeze. At the far mouth of the creek which isolates this point, we found the *cortége* of the rajah. Fifty or sixty boats of various sizes, with a vast train of attendants, surrounded us; and, after a brief delay, Jan. 20.

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1840. our boat was taken alongside the pangawa's barge, into which I stepped. The usual opening compliments were exchanged, the usual nothings were gone through, and a pause took place. I then thought I might get to closer quarters, and expressed my pleasure at thus meeting him *by chance*, as I wished to declare to him in person that I was unconnected with any government, and had no object in visiting his country, except the wish of seeing what was new or interesting. This afforded him an opening, and he began to talk, or rather to sift me as much as lay in his power. The questions of a native are so curious a jumble of ideas that I shall give this conversation.

"What pleasure could you take in coming so far?"

I replied, that it was difficult for him to understand how much Englishmen liked going to different places; that all Englishmen travelled; many, like myself, kept vessels to visit foreign countries.

"Do you receive any pay?"

"No."

"Do you trade?"

"No."

"When in England, did you not trade?"

"No."

"How do you live, then?"

"I have a fortune of my own."

"Then you must be a relation of the queen?"

"I have not that honour."

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"Which is the stronger nation, England or Holland?" 1840.

"Certainly," I replied, "England."

"Are they friends?"

"Yes."

"Russia is a very strong nation?"

"Yes."

"Is she as strong as England?"

"She is powerful; but, in my opinion, England and France are the two strongest nations."

"What became of Bonaparte after the English made him prisoner?"

"He died at St. Helena."

I added, "He was a man of great ability and power, but very ambitious, which ruined him. He must have been very powerful; for, though the French had nothing to do with these countries, he extended their name even here."

"How came it that the English gave back Java and the other countries to the Dutch after taking them?" I explained that the English took them from the French; and when peace was made in Europe, gave them to the Dutch.

"Do not the Dutch pay tribute for them?"

"By no means."

This and much more took place, showing some shrewdness mixed with a perfect confusion of events, the past and the present being strangely huddled together in his head. The rajah pangawa is a man of rather short stature, stout built, very dark, and

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1840. with a very inexpressive countenance; his age, about forty-five; his manners are by no means pleasing, though civil; and his talents, I should say, are nothing above the common run of those about him. Dain Palawa, his relation, was with him; a younger and better-looking man, with an air of dandyism in his dress and appearance; and a countenance exhibiting much quickness and shrewdness, with a strong unpleasant expression of cunning. The chiefs generally were dressed in cloths of dark colours. Some of their boats, or rather, long canoes, pulled fifteen paddles, and were ornamented at the stern and bow with carved wood. The small sailing boats had outriggers of wood, which, weighted with men, enabled them to carry a sail of enormous size. The mass of men collected on the occasion gave me the impression of being stout and well-built, but not good-looking. Their number might be about 500 or 600, and the contrast to our small party was striking. Our long boat, armed with her two swivels loaded with grape and canister, blunderbusses, muskets, pistols, and cutlasses, would, however, have made sad havoc amongst them if they had attempted any treachery. A painter might have been pleased with the scene of our meeting. The number of native boats, some sailing, some paddling—the various flags—the dense group on the shore, and in the midst our little English boat, with her ensign flying, surrounded by dozens of the native prahus—

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the dark foliage of the trees, and the flitting and screaming of cockatoos, unaccustomed to this invasion of their resorts—presented to the mind the picture of a distant and little-known land. On taking my leave, I requested that I might have an escort to visit the cave of Mampo, a curiosity of old times which I much desired to see. I was told, however, that it was not in the pangawa's power to grant my request, but he would mention it to the king. 1840.

Beating up, after the interview, from Palettè to Chinrana, we carried away the mast of the long boat, and consequently had a tough pull, arriving aboard at sunset. Awaiting us was a boat from Wajo, bearing a letter from the rajah Lappa Tongi, full of expressions of welcome, and regretting that he could not come in person, on account of the illness of his mother, the ranee of Tulla Tendring. I received much information from the intelligent nakodah, who brought this communication; but, as his authority is not conclusive, I shall postpone mentioning the affairs of Wajo until I have the best informants and the means of personal inquiry.

January 21.—Again I despatched our boat with Dain to Tulla Tendring; and, in the evening, he returned, having met a fresh mission from Lappa Tongi with a second letter, saying that his mother was at the point of death, and advising me to proceed to Penekè, in the territory of Wajo. It is Jan. 21.

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1840. clear that the rajahs of Wajo look to me for assistance, and think me able to perform far more than is in my power: should I find their cause just, such assistance in advice as I may be able to afford they shall have, short of any personal interference in their quarrel; but it must be explained to them, beyond a shadow of doubt, that I am unconnected with government. This must be forcibly and *rudely* done, for all natives are, in spite of general assurances, apt to give you credit for being a secret agent, and are willing to act on this false impression.

The flood-tide at this season scarcely checks the reflux of water. Leaving the anchorage of Maraluatu, we sailed along outside the fishing stakes, which extend beyond Tonjong Lowni. This point is low; and, at a reasonable distance, the navigation is clear, with soundings of eleven or twelve fathoms. Beyond point Lowni is the river of the same name, and a second larger entrance, called Ky-èh. Beyond Ky-èh are two or three shoals, which must be passed outside, or to the eastward; and at Laboto the anchorage is in seven, six, or five fathoms. The land beyond Chinrana is low and alluvial; and at Laboto, a level plain of many miles in extent, covered with long green grass, has evidently been gained from the ocean. Indeed, the entire western shore of the bay bears marks of encroaching on the sea; and the number of shoals driven up by the S.E. monsoon, as well as the deposit of the rivers, gives reason to conclude that the

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progression of time will convert this deep bight into dry land, by these ceaseless, though scarcely visible, causes. 1840.

January 23.—Waiting in vain for a Penekè pilot who had promised to come, nothing occurred: weather squally and unpleasant. Laboto is the last village in Boni, the boundary between that country and Wajo being about a mile or two to the northward. Jan. 23.

January 24.—Sailed for Laboto; keeping away to westward to avoid the shoal of Batu Mano. Standing out too far, however, having no pilot, we got into four fathoms, on the extensive shoal of Lakatompa. Kept on the shoal some time, with sand and rocks under our bottom. Bore up, and running to the southward, got into deep water; again hauled our wind, and stood in to windward of Tanjong Setangè, and the village of the same name. We stood on in 17, 16, 14, down to 5½ fathoms, where we anchored between the shore and shoal of Lakatompa.* A vessel steering along the coast must keep a good offing, in order to avoid the shoal of Batu Mano, which lies to the northward of Laboto, and haul in again for the point of Setangè, into the passage between the shore and the shoal of Lakatompa. This last reef is of considerable extent, composed of sand, with masses of rock. The passage in shore is wide and clear; and one or two shoals, lying near the beach, are easily dis- Jan. 24.

* This name signifying, as far as I could understand, a wall, or breakwater.

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1840. cernible in moderately clear weather. In the afternoon sent out a boat to sound our way into Penekè Bay.

Jan. 25. *January* 25. — Came to anchor in Penekè Bay, after working in. There are two or three patches which must be looked out for, lying well out, and rather over towards the northern point.

Jan. 26. *January* 26. — Penekè is situated three hours' sail up a small shallow river. The shores of the bay are entirely composed of mangroves, behind which is a grassy plain, similar to that at Laboto. The stream, on reaching the low mangrove shore, finds its way out in numerous channels. In the evening I went up one of these to the village of Lamarna, and received intelligence that the rajah Lappa Tongi had arrived at Doping, another village on another stream. An inferior rajah, old and given to opium smoking, was sent to us, and I brought him on board. The poor old gentleman was affected by the slight motion of the vessel, and a heavy rain caused his attendants to pass a miserable night on deck.

Jan. 27. *January* 27. — Our much-desired interview with the chiefs has taken place, and nothing could be more kind and affable than our reception. The village of Doping is situated at the verge of the grassy plain which stretches as far as the eye can reach in every direction, and, as I have before observed, terminates towards the sea in low mangrove swamps. Here may be seen the formation of land, from the time it first emerges from the sea at low

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water, through its progressive stages. First, the low sand bank. Next, the young mangrove shoots sprouting out in the sterile and water-covered soil. Thirdly, the twisted roots of the same tree exposed to the action of the tides; freshness and verdure above, but without resting-place for man's foot. Fourthly, the gradual accumulation of soil amid the mangrove roots, and the trees large and of many years' growth. Fifthly, the soil emerging above high-water mark, gives nourishment to a few other trees and shrubs, besides the mangroves. Lastly, the full-grown forest, or bare plain, as it were by man's intervention, presents itself. 1840.

January 28.—I may pause here to give a brief account of the rajahs who came to meet me at the village of Doping. First and foremost was the Rajah Lappa Tongi *, the claimant of the country of Si Dendring. He is about forty-five or forty-eight years of age; of a melancholy countenance, and grave demeanour. His dress was magnificent, composed of puce-coloured velvet, worked with gold flowers: the trousers, rather loose, of the same material, reached half-way down the calf of the leg, and were fastened by six or eight real gold studs. The baju (or jacket), buttoned close up, was fastened with the same material at the throat, and down the breast, and each sleeve had a row of golden buttons up the fore-arm. A blue gold-embroidered sarong, or kilt, was round his waist, Jan. 28.

* Or, more properly, the datu lompola.

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1840. over a handsome gold and jewelled kris; and on his head a light scull-cap of gold, neatly and elaborately carved.

The other two rajahs* were richly dressed in cloth of gold; and as the three advanced to meet me, surrounded by their numerous and wild-looking followers, it was a novel and pleasing sight. After our cold reception in Boni, their kindness was highly gratifying, and raised my hopes of seeing the interior of the country. They proposed to take me to Tesōra the day after to-morrow; and to-morrow the chiefs are to visit the vessel, and in the evening show me a deer-hunt.

January 29. — The rajahs came on board, and were well pleased, though rather sick. They had, in going back, a rough pull against a strong breeze and chopping sea; and were, I doubt not, very glad to find themselves once more on dry land. It was late before we got on the grass plain looking out for deer, and we had not the good fortune to find any. Their style of riding is novel, and sportsmanlike. A light bridle, like a bearing-rein, is the sole equipment of the steed; and the horseman, twisting his hand in the mane and at the same time grasping the bridle, engages in the chase. They ride bare-backed, and in the right hand carry a light hunting-spear, with a noose at the butt end, ready to be passed over the deer. They indulge in no display; no prancing, no curvetting, no needless exertion for the

* Penrang and Pajumparuah.

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horse, but remain as steady and quiet whilst beating for the game, as the oldest sportsman in England. The opportunity I had was not quite sufficient to judge of their merits; and I will therefore postpone the account of a hunting-field till I have seen them in chase of a deer. 1840.

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CHAP. V.

EXTENT OF WAJO. — CONSTITUTION OF WAJO. — RIGHT OF LAND. — SLAVERY. — OBSERVATIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT. — REVIEW OF CIVILISATION. — EUROPEAN DOMINATION. — DISPUTES CONCERNING SI DENDRING. — PRIDE OF BIRTH. — DOMESTIC MANNERS. — STATE OF MORALITY. — EXCURSION IN WAJO. — NATIVE GREETINGS. — BUGIS CURIOSITY. — THE RAJAH'S BANQUET. — COCKFIGHTING. — POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS. — CITY OF TESORA. — CUSTOMS OF THE BUGIS. — MANNERS. — SIMPLICITY OF THE NATIVES. — STRANGE CUSTOMS.

1840. PENEKÈ BAY. Having passed some weeks in the Bugis country, and collected as much information as lay in my power, I shall proceed, before copying the daily journal, to give a brief account of the government, customs, religion, and manners of Wajo, in order to render my narrative more intelligible to the reader. The southern limb of Celebes contains the four kingdoms of Luwu, Wajo, Boni, and Soping. Of these Luwu is the most ancient, and probably the parent state. The fifth kingdom of Goa, or Makassar, has long been under European domination; and the country of Si Dendring, formerly dependent on Boni, has of late years risen into an independent kingdom. The three states of Boni, Wajo, and Soping have always been united in a strict and intimate league, and heretofore (with occasional interruptions of their good understanding) have acted as one state

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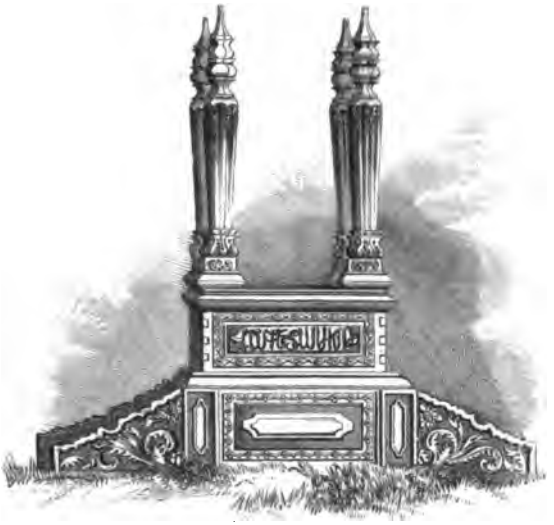

FRAGMENT OF ARABIAN BUILDING (? TOMB) CELEBES.

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for the purposes of defence. The constitutions of these three states bear some original resemblance. Boni is the most extensive and powerful; Wajo, the bravest and freest in its institutions; and Soping, the last of the triple alliance, the least considerable. It is of the country of Wajo that I have at present to write, having already detailed what information I could collect on the government of Boni. 1840.

Wajo comprises a line of sea-coast from the vicinity of Laboto nearly to the mountain of Latimojong, where it joins the kingdom of Luwu. A line drawn three miles northward of Laboto to the same distance south of Lagusi, will nearly mark its southern boundary; and a few miles northward is the capital Tesōra. To the westward it is bounded by Soping and Si Dendring; and the great Lake of Tapar-Ke-Rajah divides these kingdoms, the territory of Wajo extending along the east bank, that of Soping on the west; the latter being bounded on the north by the proper territory of Si Dendring, at the upper part of the lake. This boundary may generally be stated as running from the vicinity of Latimojong towards the south-west until it comes in contact, or nearly so, with the head of the Tapar-Ke-Rajah. The government of Wajo is feudal, and comprised of numerous rajahs, independent, or nearly so, living in their own districts, possessing the power of life and death, and each surrounded by a body of slave retainers or serfs, attached solely to the fortunes of

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1840. their master. A general form of elective government, however, holds amongst them, which modifies the arbitrary sway of the rajahs of fiefs, and acknowledges, to a certain degree, the rights of free men not of noble birth. This government consists of six hereditary rajahs *, three civil and three military chiefs, one military chief being attached to each civil one. With these six officers rests the election of a head of the state, entitled the aru matoah, who may be considered an elective monarch, exercising during his reign all functions of the chief magistrate, checking and controlling the feudal lords, deciding cases of difference, and conducting the foreign policy of the kingdom. Below the six great chiefs, is a council, or chamber of forty arangs, or nobles of inferior rank, who further serve to modify the feudal state, and are appealed to in all cases of importance or difficulty. The rights of the freemen are guarded by three pangawas, or tribunes of the people, one being attached to each department of the state.

I may arrange the government thus: —

Aru Matoah,
elected by
the Six Hereditary Rajahs.
The Council of Forty.
Pangawa — Pangawa — Pangawa.
General Council.

The powers of these pangawas, or tribunes of

* 1. Rundrang Tulla Tendring; 2. Rundrang Tuwah; 3. Aru Beting; and 4. Patolah; 5. Filla; and 6. Chukaridi.

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the people, is considerable. With them only it rests to summon a meeting of the council of forty. They possess the right of veto to the appointment of an aru matoah. Their command alone is a legal summons to war, no chief or body having right, or even authority, to call the freemen to the field. The census of the population and the appointment of freemen, as heads of towns or villages, are in their hands, with many other privileges. The election of these pangawas rests with the people, and is generally hereditary. Each town and village has a number of freemen called the orang tuah, who administer its internal concerns, and are responsible to the chiefs for the dues in their power to exact. 1840.

Besides the constitution of the government here detailed, there is a general council of the people, composed of the heads of villages and all the respectable freemen, who are convened on extraordinary occasions, to state their opinions and discuss important questions, without, however, having the power of arriving at a decision. It is necessary for the council of forty to be unanimous in their decrees. Failing this, the general council is convened through the pangawas, and the ultimate decision of the question rests with the aru matoah, or chief magistrate. The election of the aru matoah is, as I have stated, in the six chiefs. His deposition lies in the power of the aru beting *alone*, the civil chief, who always performs the functions of the aru matoah during an interregnum.

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1840. The most powerful chief next after the six is the rajah Penrang, who holds the privilege of advising or upbraiding the six rajahs, in case of any internal dissensions among themselves. The territory at large, with some exceptions, is under the government of one or other of the three great wards or departments; though the first individually belongs to rajahs of inferior rank, but often of great influence. The right of the land rests with individuals, and the lord of the fief has no legal right to call upon the population to cultivate ground for his support. There appears to be no right of taxation, and no duty imposed upon trade or manufactures; and the rented lands may be cultivated with the consent of the rajah, on payment of one tenth of the produce. The wealth of all classes consists of slaves, or more properly, serfs. Every freeman possesses, according to his means, a certain number of men or women who perform all the labour of tillage and domestic drudgery. The serfs raise rice, catch fish, weave sarongs for the use of their master's household, and the superfluous portion of them are required to support themselves in the best manner they can. Servitude, though so extensive that there are fifty slaves or more to each freeman, is of the mildest character, and the exportation or importation of slaves is unknown. Certainly, there is no trace of that horrid traffic, similar to what was carried on in the Macassar territory, as described by Sir Stamford Raffles, and which was probably created

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to supply the wants of the Dutch and the native princes. 1840.

The slaves in the Bugis states are chiefly debtors; the greater part of them, however, have become hereditary bondsmen during the lapse of time. A freeman may be reduced to slavery, together with his family, by incurring debts he cannot discharge, or by the commission of some crime of magnitude, in both which cases he loses with freedom every political right and protection, and becomes the property of a master, in whose hands rests the power of life and death, of mercy or of cruelty.

From this review, it will strike us that the government (or constitution) of Wajo, though ruled by feudal and arbitrary rajahs, though cumbersome and slow in its movements and defective in the administration of equal justice between man and man, yet possesses many claims to our admiration, and bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times in Europe, or rather that period in the Low Countries when the rights of free citizens were first acknowledged. I regret, however, my being compelled to give many details, which show that their *practice* is very much at variance with their *written laws;* and it is a matter of still greater regret, that in that progressive and imperceptible march of improvement, that growing importance which marks the prosperity of young states, they are altogether wanting or retrograding. Our judgment, however, of their faults must be mild, when we consider that, amid

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1840. all the nations of the East — amid all the people professing the Mahometan religion, from Turkey to China, — the Bugis *alone* have arrived at the threshold of recognised rights, and have *alone* emancipated themselves from the fetters of despotism.

We cannot fail to admire in these infant institutions the glimmer of elective government, the acknowledged rights of citizenship, and the liberal spirit which has never placed a single restriction upon foreign or domestic commerce. That a people advanced to this point would gradually progress if left to themselves and uncontaminated, and unoppressed, there is every reason to believe; and in the decline of their circumstances, and the decay of their public institutions, we may trace the evil influence of European domination.

It is contended, and will always be contended, that the location of a just and liberal European people amid uncivilised or demi-civilised races, is calculated to advance the best interests of those races by the diffusion of knowledge, the impartial administration of justice, the liberal principles of government, and the increase of commerce: the question is one the discussion of which would require a space I cannot now devote to it; but taking it in the most favourable point of view, granting that a government is all it ought to be, let it be asked, have any people ever been so civilised, especially where the difference of colour stamps a mark of inextinguishable distinction between the

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governing and the governed? Is it not as necessary for states, as for individuals, to form a distinctive character? The vassalage of the mass, like the dependence of a single mind, may form a yielding, pliant, and even able character; but, like wax, it retains one impression only, to be succeeded by the next which shall be given. The struggles of a nation, its internal contests, its dear-bought experience, its hard-earned rights, its gradual progress, are absolutely necessary to the development of freedom. Any other mode, any patent means, is but reducing a people from a bad state to a worse, and, whilst offering protection and food, depriving them of *all that stimulus* which leads to the independence of communities. Has any European nation ever been civilised by this process? I know of none. The downfall of Rome was the first dawn of liberty to her conquered provinces; and what struggles, what bloodshed, what civil wars, what alternate advancement and retrogression, have marked the strife of liberty in our own country! how slow has been its pace! How severe the training which has impregnated the mass with the desire as well as with the knowledge of freedom! Could this otherwise have been? can it ever be? Is not dependence, however slight, an insuperable bar? I should answer, Yes. National independence is essential to the first dawn of political institutions, and that can only be effected in two ways: first, by the amalgamation of two races, the governing and the

1840.

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1840. governed; or, secondly, by the expulsion of the former. In the case of the dark races, the latter is the only alternative; and anybody who may not like this philosophy, must go to the Penny Cyclopedia, and look for one suited to his taste. It is a question to which the lust of conquest, the love of gain, the mass of benefit to individuals, conspire to render men, as well as all governments, blind. They rob a nation of its all, of all that they hold dear themselves, and give them a spangled robe to cover their naked limbs! The abstract question, however (and this is little better), goes farther back. The first principle must be sought in the right of any existing generation to part with their country. If such a right does not exist (and I believe it does not, and never can), neither can the right of acquisition exist; and the tenure of all colonies, save those founded on uninhabited lands, must rest on the right of conquest, which, in reality, means the will and power of the conquerors.

The real consideration, however, is, are European governments so constituted as to advance the independence or the happiness of the native races? Our knowledge of the past and the present must decide for the future. What says the past? What is it but a record of horrors from which the human mind revolts? We have the picture of innocent, and of comparatively happy, nations — nations prosperous and hospitable, confiding in the honour and integrity of Europeans. We seek them, and they are no more. These nations have been

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extirpated; their arts, their very language, lost in the march of this monster colonisation which now is to confer every benefit. 1840.

Turn from the South to North America, and the progress of European colonisation, European justice, European laws, European civilisation, has been ineffectual to stay the march of European ambition and European vice. The bold, the warlike red man has withered beneath the contagious example of drunkenness; and, being pushed by the strong hand of power beyond the fertile land which God and nature gave him, their mighty tribes dispersed and led away, and the wretched remnants, degraded and outcast, live the football of the freest nation in the world: their oppressors are now American instead of English. We deplore the fate of these unhappy nations: their existence is but a shadow, their destruction complete, their miseries ended, or almost so: the aggregate of murder, their national destruction, is consummated, and little individual misery survives it. May they sleep in peace! whilst we turn our indignation on the perpetrators of even worse crimes, who add slow torture and slavery to destruction.

Let us advert to the history of Africa. The swelling sails of the European vessels were thought to be the wings of some huge bird, and the white men treated like gods by this race of rude but hospitable savages. What has been the return?

Our boasted territory in India, the best and most uprightly governed of any European pos-

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1840. session, can, after all, claim but negative advantages. It is neither oppressive nor unjust, and the people are moderately happy; but what advance have they made during the long period of our sway? Are they more civilised than in the time of Baber and of Akbar? Are their minds more enlightened? their political freedom more advanced? their religion less dominant or less bigoted? No: though the English government has used the *best means* to shake the dominion of priestcraft, it still continues. The mass are certainly as ignorant as ever; ignorant of their own rights, content under every or any government, so that they reap the fruit of labour; and, in this respect, are as low as the African!

Lastly, I must mention the effect of European domination in the Archipelago. The first voyagers from the West found the natives rich and powerful, with strong established governments, and a thriving trade with all parts of the world. The rapacious European has reduced them to their present condition. Their governments have been broken up; the old states decomposed by treachery, by bribery, and intrigue; their possessions wrested from them under flimsy pretences; their trade restricted, their vices encouraged, their virtues repressed, and their energies paralysed or rendered desperate, till there is every reason to fear the gradual extinction of the Malay races.

This is the historical record of the rule of Europeans from their earliest landing to the present

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moment. The same spirit which combines the atrocity of the Spaniard with the meanness of the Jew pedlar, has actuated them throughout, receiving only such modifications as time or necessity has compelled them to adopt. Who that compares the states of the Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, or Celebes, before and subsequent to the period of European domination, but must decide on the superiority of the former? 1840.

Let these considerations, fairly reflected on and enlarged, be presented to the candid and liberal mind; and I think that, however strong the present prepossessions, they will shake the belief in the advantages to be gained by European ascendency as it has heretofore been conducted, and will convince the most sceptical of the miseries immediately and prospectively flowing from European rule, as generally constituted.

I have been led into a long digression, but by no means an unnecessary one, as the state of the Bugis at present is intimately connected with, and influenced by, foreign interference. I must, however, delay the consideration of these matters until I come to the details of their present political position. The encroaching and arbitrary spirit of the rajahs is the source of the principal mischief in Wajo, and the dissolute habits and unpunished crimes of their followers produce the worst results. Whilst there was an aru matoah at the head of affairs, he was in a great measure able to check the outrages of the feudal nobles; but, unfortunately, for

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1840. the last six years there has been no chief magistrate, and during that time the evil effects of unlicensed power have been accumulating in the country. By the provisions of the state it requires the meeting and consent of the six great chiefs to render the appointment of an aru matoah legal, and the disputes respecting the succession of Si Dendring have rendered this impossible, each party refusing their consent to the measures proposed by their opponents. In case, however, of a minority remaining recusant for a length of time, it is in the power of the aru beting, with the support of the forty nobles and pangawas, to proceed to the election; but unhappily in this case, as the aru beting is the head of the state during the interregnum, it little accords with his interest to hasten the appointment. The aru beting, though acting as aru matoah, neither takes the title, nor is admitted to the privileges by the other Bugis states of Boni and Soping; and in the internal regulations of the country he has his own party, and his own interests to serve; and, the other rajahs following his example, the people fall under the arbitrary and irresponsible rule of every chief of pure blood who possesses territory. The evil effects of this condition of things have been severely felt: large tracts of ground formerly in cultivation are now deserted, emigration drains the country of its population, property is rendered insecure, wrongs are committed with impunity, and redress is hopeless, whilst the poorer chiefs turn regular caterans, and

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live upon the plunder acquired by their followers. 1840.
One or two striking instances of this will be found in my journal. These evils have almost all arisen from the disputed succession above mentioned; and the same cause has latterly separated Boni and Soping from Wajo, as these two states have been inclined to side with the Dutch against the people of Wajo; and, until there be an aru matoah appointed, there can be no hope, though the parties be ever so willing, of a renewed good understanding. It has been my desire, since I have become acquainted with their affairs, to persuade the Wajo chiefs to elect an aru matoah *; but I cannot flatter myself that I have succeeded in this attempt. The other great object is to induce them to renew the former good intelligence with their neighbour states, and both in Wajo and Boni I find a sincere desire to unite their interest.

As no nation grants greater privileges to high birth, so no people are more tenacious of the purity of their descent. They are as careful of their blood as we are of that of our race horses, and the pure blood once crossed is never cleansed from the stain. The full blood is that of the chiefs; and the descendants by a father and mother, both thorough bred, are called arang sangün. A woman of pure blood never can marry any but of her own class; but the men mix their blood in marriage with the

* Mr. Brooke received a letter from the chiefs of Wajo a year after this was written, stating that, acting under the advice of their "White Friend" they had elected an aru matoah.

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1840. daughters of freemen, and this cross is denominated rajin or dain, the latter being a term affixed to the name of the children. The descendants of a rajah by a rajin, rank next to the pure blood, and are termed rajin matassah, whilst the children of a rajah by a slave are called anak charah.

The arang sangün cannot intermarry with any lower class. The same law obtains with respect to the Rajin matassah, but has fallen into disuse, and matches are now frequently contracted between them and wealthy freemen, an encroachment which will probably extend as the middle class become more influential through their wealth. The families of rich Nakodahs chiefly form this middle rank; an important body, who, from their greater enlightenment and superior riches, are both respected and looked up to by all classes. Polygamy is allowed amongst the Bugis; but is practised with restrictions unknown to other Mahometan countries. Two wives seldom live in the same house; and the number rarely exceeds three or four. Their separate establishments are chiefly supported by themselves, with occasional help from their lords, though years may pass without any intercourse between husband and wife. Divorce is easily procured by the men; and mutual inclination is a sufficient plea. In the case of the woman there must be some ground of complaint; and the mere absence of the conjugal rites is not sufficient. Concubinage is not common, prostitution almost unknown; and certainly, in these respects, as well as

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in the decency of the marriage condition, the Bugis are far superior to any other Eastern nation.* The importance attached to high blood has probably been the cause that has prevented the confinement of their women when they embraced the faith of Islam. All the offices of state, including even that of aru matoah, are open to women; and they actually fill the important post of government, four out of the six great chiefs of Wajo being at present females. These ladies appear in public like the men; ride, rule, and visit even foreigners, without the knowledge or consent of their husbands. The privileges attached to pure birth are many and important, and will readily suggest themselves, amongst which may be stated the power of governing, the right of support, impunity from punishment (save from crimes committed against their own class), the power of punishing, &c. 1840.

This brief account of the constitution of Wajo, will enable the reader more readily to understand the journal which follows.

Jan. 30. — Leaving the vessel at half-past two, we did not reach Doping till 5, A. M. Our party consisted of Mr. Murray, Theylingen, M'Kenzie, Spence, James Peter, Dain Matara, and myself. No one was stirring when we arrived; and, after rousing them, much time was lost in arrangement Jan. 30.

* The rajahs have wives of inferior rank; but on marriage with a woman of their own class, these wives are divorced. Between divorce and a fresh alliance, a period of three months must elapse.

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1840. and preparation. We then mounted our steeds, and the baggage being stowed on a buffalo, the cavalcade, consisting of about thirty horsemen and a crowd of foot, bent its way across the grassy plain to the westward. This undulating prairie, covered with a coarse grass and varied only by occasional clumps of trees, continues without interruption to Tesōra, the present capital of Wajo. One hour and a half from Doping is the small village of Piapaga, consisting of about twenty houses; and three hours, the village of Penrang. To the right and left are seen several small hamlets, amongst which, to the northward of Penrang, is the town of Wajo; and to the southward and westward, that of Lagusì, situated on the Sadang river, a large and flourishing place. Our road was very muddy, in consequence of the late heavy rains; and our horses were often up to their girths (or where their girths ought to have been) in mud; so by the time we reached Tesōra, we were little fitted to adorn the procession which awaited us. On a slight eminence, over which our route lay, some thousands of people were collected, most of them armed, and displaying various banners. Horsemen galloped amid the multitude, their discordant yells and levelled muskets as we approached being more calculated to create the suspicion of hostility than of hospitality.

As we reached the summit a general discharge, and a more general shout, greeted our

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arrival; and for the remainder of our way to the house prepared for us, we were surrounded by a dense crowd, firing as fast as they could load, the nearer to our persons the greater compliment. Our journey was completed in four hours, which at the rate of three miles and a half per hour, will make the distance from Doping to Tesōra about fifteen miles, the direction being nearly west. 1840.

At our house the rajahs dismounted with us, and we underwent the ceremony of eating sweetmeats, and drinking hot water; but when we began to hope for rest and quiet, our troubles were only commencing. The house was crowded with people, a dense mob at the same time collecting without, pleased and staring, whilst their poor victims, stifled with heat, sat the gaze and wonder of a Bugis multitude! Hour after hour passed, the rajahs took their leave, dinner was brought, but without diminution of the annoyance. When we ate, they gaped with wonder at the lions feeding; when we lay down and tried to sleep, the crowd pressed closer to look at our faces, particularly the women. If we escaped out of the house, fresh hordes were ready to follow our footsteps; very civil indeed, but horribly curious; and so it continued till midnight, and even after that we had some visitors. The troubles of the day were succeeded by those of the night; the crowds of men, by clouds of musquitoes; but fatigue and weariness enabled me to get some sleep, despite their distressing attacks.

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1840.
Jan. 31.

Jan. 31. — This day was consumed in visiting the rajahs; and at the house of rajah Penrang, a collation was prepared for us, of which we partook, sitting cross-legged. The cookery was excellent, and the native dishes served up in small saucers, as relishes. Each person has a salver covered with these dainties before him, with a quantity of rice, the only distinction being that the tray or salver of people of rank has a stand, whilst the crowd eat with them placed on the ground. These dishes are forced-meat balls of fowls or fish, broiled venison, buffalo flesh minced and richly cooked with cocoa-nut milk, a curry or stew, eggs prepared in various ways, omelets, besides many others. Nothing could exceed the kindness of these people and of their chiefs; and now the first burst of their curiosity having subsided, we can better appreciate their good intentions. In manners, they are well bred, but without the polish of the Malays: they indulge in loud merriment, the crowd of people being as noisy and difficult to restrain as our own countrymen.

After our repast we were conducted to the cock-pit, a square railed space, within which the birds fight. Only two men enter this pit. The birds are weighed by hand. The spur resembles that used by the Malays, seldom more than one being affixed. The winning bird must peck his dead adversary three times, or the bets are withdrawn; and when a battle is won, a plate is handed round, in which

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the money lost is put, and divided amongst the winners. I may refer to Marsden's work on Sumatra for a detail of this and many other customs, and only remark that the behaviour of the crowd was most civil and decorous. 1840.

Feb. 1. — A visit from the young rajah Pajumparuah, and another invitation to the cockpit. There was much political and unreserved discussion of foreign domination. I contented myself with saying that my sole reason for visiting their country was to amuse myself, without any connection with the British government. I professed myself entirely ignorant of their government, bu urged upon them the folly of plunging into a war, upon which they seemed determined. I postpone the subject for the present; but it appears certain that the quarrel for the Si Dendring succession has been, since 1832, the chief cause of all the agitations throughout these states. Feb. 1.

A few days previous to my arrival, the ranee of Tulla Tendring * died, at an advanced age.

Tesōra is a large straggling city, greatly in decay; the ancient boundary of which is marked by a fortification, which embraces a space of several miles in circumference, and occupies to the eastward a slightly elevated ridge, and to the westward sinks to a swamp. Not many years since, the main stream of the Sadang river ran near the southern limit of

* The title of these rajahs is Pata Mapalaka, pata being a prefix common to all the high nobility. Her son Lappa Tongi is known by the title of Datu Lampola.

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1840. the town, though it has now receded three miles or more, leaving a deep but narrow channel bounded by swamps. This has probably been the principal reason of the decline of the town, the former prosperity of which is proved by its great extent, as well as by the remains of brick-built mosques and powder-magazines. The houses are mostly large, and well built, but old and tottering, and bear evidence of the rapid desertion of the population, which may now amount to about 6000 persons, though the former limits must at least have contained four times that number. The chiefs rarely make this their place of residence, only meeting here when convened for purposes of business. There is nothing to be said in its favour; the situation is bad, the water brackish, and the circulation of air impeded; it is very hot, swarms with rats and musquitoes, and has the appearance of being unhealthy. Robberies accompanied by violence are said to be frequent, and the detached houses and thick groves offer every facility for the commission of crime.

Feb. 2. *Feb.* 2. — The Datu Lampola, one or two other chiefs, three pangawas, and the matoah of Tesōra, came at ten and stayed till three — a most unmerciful visit, but necessary to be endured. I was pleased by the freedom of the conversation, the pangawas detailing their powers and privileges without reserve. "If the rajahs wish to call the people to war," they said, "they cannot do so without our permission; we are a *free people*."

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Whilst these unmerciful visitors were with me, there arrived a huge despatch from Mr. B——, an English gentleman residing in the country. It was addressed to "The Commanding Officer of the British Ships off Bajuè." In a private note he requested a supply of instruments, medicine, &c.; and in a public one stated that he had forwarded a communication, addressed previously to the Dutch governor of Makassar, which might give some insight into the affairs of the Bugis states. I glanced at it, and returned it, as it could not in any way concern my visit.

I may here detail some of the customs and habits of this people. The dress of the higher ranks is rich and handsome; their more common costume is a tight pair of trowsers, reaching half way down the thigh; and the sarong and bajo similar to the Malays; to which they invariably add a belt round the middle, generally richly embroidered. The kris is worn in this belt, and is longer than that used by the Malays. On the fingers the men wear a number of large rings; but the stones in them are rough, and appeared to be of little value. The dress of the women is plain; and, in all respects, they appear less fond of ornamenting their persons than the men. A sarong reaching to the feet, and a muslin bajo worn loose, and showing all the bust and bosom, compose the dress. The hair, long and black, is generally drawn tight off the face, *à la Chinoise*, and turned up behind. Women of rank, and the females of their household, wear the

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1840. thumb-nail long, and enclosed in a preposterously long case. The manners of the ladies are easy and self-possessed, but listless and indolent. The men of the better class partake of this indolence and elegance of manner; but the lower orders of both sexes are noisy, boisterous, and inquisitive; and the followers of the rajah, I should say, overbearing and insolent. The Bugis are said (and I believe with much truth) to be the greatest bullies and boasters in the Archipelago; at the same time, they are the bravest and most energetic race; and the freedom of their institutions encourages the open expression of their sentiments. Since my arrival, I have been unable to discover the faintest trace of any limit to the freedom of discourse.

The minds of the Bugis, like their manners, are shrewd, but simple; cunning, but not acute; and no match for the duplicity of Europeans. The English evidently enjoy the highest character amongst the people of Wajo. They look to them for protection, and cannot understand why a powerful nation (which they are told we are) takes so little interest in their affairs, and has so little regard to its own advantage.

I would fain have quitted Tesōra before this, but it is quite out of my power to hurry my good host. Delay and loss of time is the consequence, but I must, perforce, act with the natives, as I cannot act independently of them.

Feb. 3. *Feb.* 3. — Heavy rains the livelong day.

The strangest custom I have observed is, that

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1840.
Feb. 3.

some men dress like women, and some women like men; not occasionally, but all their lives, devoting themselves to the occupations and pursuits of their adopted sex. In the case of the males, it seems that the parents of a boy, upon perceiving in him certain effeminancies of habit and appearance, are induced thereby to present him to one of the rajahs, by whom he is received. These youths often acquire much influence over their masters, as is the case in Turkey, whose history abounds in instances of the rise of these young favourites to the highest honours and power. It would appear, however, from all I could learn, that the practice leads among the Bugis to none of those vices which constitute the opprobrium of Western Asia.

Poor Lappa Tongi this evening gave me a long detail of his grievances, his claims, and his resolves. I gather that he would do any thing; forfeit anything; Si Dendring itself, to expel his brother from that country. A settled melancholy oppresses him — that gloomy and brooding revenge, which is dangerous in a native.

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CHAP. VI.

DANCE OF SAILORS.—MARKET OF TESŌRA.—DEPARTURE.—ASCEND THE RIVER.—TEMPÈ.—DESCRIPTION OF THE LAKE.—BUGIS RIFLE PRACTICE.—FUNERAL CEREMONIES.—CHARACTER OF THE BUGIS.—CONDITION OF WOMEN.—VISIT TO THE HILLS.—CHANGES IN THE ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY.—INDOLENCE OF BOATMEN.—BEAUTIFUL SCENERY.—EXCURSIONS ON THE LAKE.—TOWNS AND POPULATION.—EVENING LANDSCAPE.—VISIT TO THE ARUN-UJONG.

To return — about ten at night our four hands went into the Rajah's apartment, and sang and danced till one P.M. I could hear shouts of laughter, and snatches of songs, not over decent, with which our fellows amused their host and hostess; and, in reward, they were feasted with sweetmeats, and encouraged to practise all sorts of fun.

Feb. 4. *February* 4. — Visited the market, and saw as much more of Tesōra as I could. There is a large market held twice a week, at which all kinds of provisions are sold. At one P.M. we started for Tempè (classical name), the Rajahate of the Datu Lampola's lady.

The canoes were about forty or fifty feet long, and only two and a half wide, covered with a small kajang, or mat. In this narrow space our party

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was ranged one behind another, seated cross-legged, somewhat to the discomposure of us all. The way lies through the swamp which skirts the town, into the bed of the river, which is narrow, but has some depth, and with low marshy banks; after this cheerless progress, it was agreeable to emerge into the main stream, just above the town of Sabang, which stands on the left bank, and contains from sixty to seventy houses. A mile or two further, on the right bank, is the town of Padiloh, with fifty houses, besides one or two smaller places as we ascended. At dusk we reached the town of Tampurnŭng, situated at the foot of one of the hills of the small range visible from Tesōra.

The river is generally more than a hundred yards in width, with a stream of about three knots an hour at this season, and runs through the alluvial plain before described. Marine shells are numerous on the soil of the banks, which are grassy, with here and there clumps and groves of the cocoa-nut, plantain, or tamarind. Shortly after passing Tampurnŭng night closed in, and we proceeded to Tempè, unable to observe much save the towns of Amsangan and Sinkong, with a branch of the river opposite the latter. At Tempè a salute awaited us, and we were conducted, amid a crowd, to our house — a large and ruinous building. The entrance was up a steep, inclined plane of slippery bamboo, and, having on a thick pair of boots, I lost my footing, and dragging the Rajah with me we made a highly undignified descent. They allowed

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1840. us to retire to rest in moderate time, evincing much good breeding.

Feb. 5. *Feb.* 5. — Kept awake a great part of the night by the squalling of two infernal cats, with a note different from any I ever heard, though common to the cats of this country. The number of rats is astonishing, and they are so bold that they scarcely deign to get out of the way. Passed the greater part of the day on the lake, in a small canoe. Tempè stands at the point of junction of the river and the lake. All this part of which is covered with weeds, and shallow, as though gradually filling up.

The basin is situated between the range of mountains, which runs from Lumpŭ Batang to Latimojong, and the lower ridge already mentioned, which detaches itself from this range, crosses the river Sadang, at Tampurnŭng, and takes a direction to the eastward of north. A strip of low ground intervenes in both banks betwixt the lake and hills, which has evidently been gained from the water; and the same process of the gradual deposition of soil, will in time convert the present basin into a rich valley, watered by a fine river. The right bank, as far as I could see, is covered with towns situated at the water's edge, and a few villages are scattered on the small hills behind.

The population is evidently dense, and the country looks flourishing. The aspect of the lake does not boast of any very great natural beauty, though Latimojong, towering in the distance, and the

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VILLAGE OF TEMPE AND LAKE OF TAPAR-KE-RAJAH

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mountains on the left bank, are noble and diversified in outline; but the lagoon itself presents the aspect of a swamp waving with floating masses of vegetation, eight or ten feet high, and elsewhere covered and obstructed by weeds. We had some observations, and Murray, in another canoe, was employed in laying down the right bank. 1840.

On my return I found the Rajahs practising rifle-shooting at a target, at the measured distance of one hundred and twenty yards. They sat, with their followers, in a line, each man's rifle laid on props close to him, and by turns they rose and fired. Their motions are most slow and particular — the rifle is pointed upwards, the marksman gains a steady footing, brings his piece slowly to the present, then feels it with his fingers to be sure of his grasp, and, after a wearisome aim, discharges his bolt. They shoot well, but this false practice of dwelling too long on the aim, must in action cause them to lose much of their precision. It is their usual amusement, and I am told they seldom omit it in fine weather. Small bets were laid for the first shot in the bull's eye, and two or three had struck it.

The young Rajah, Ujong, or, more properly, Arun Ujong, visited me — he is a nephew of the Datu, pleasing and well-bred.

Feb. 6. — I had omitted to mention whilst at Tesōra, the custom observed subsequent to the burial of a person of rank, of feasting the poor. The dead are buried in the same manner as in Feb. 6.

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1840. Malay countries. The priests offer up prayers, and all amusement is prohibited to the family and their followers for the space of a hundred days. The dress during this period is plain and unornamented, and the relatives are *supposed* to lead a retired and sober life. Subsequently to the burial of the late Pata Mapalaka, the feasting of the poor was continued for many days, and large quantities of provisions, consisting of buffalo and goats' flesh, fowls, sweetmeats, &c. were cooked on the occasion, the expense being defrayed by presents from the friends of the family. Their offerings varied from nine Spanish dollars to one, according to their means; and seeing these presents offered I thought I could not do better than pay the same tribute of respect. I believe my offering was highly gratifying to the Datu and his family; and it is often by such attention to their peculiar observances, that we gain more than by costly presents. The graves of the dead are usually marked by a rough stone, but some of the tombs of the wealthier Nakodahs are of wood, elegantly designed, and elaborately carved.

They are generally buried beyond the precincts of the towns, and the living generation is not wanting in respect to the dead. A tomb of an olden aru matoah was pointed out to me on the plain near Penrang. It was covered with a few trees, and neatly thatched over, though they knew little of the dead save his rank and his goodness. These were preserved, together with the place of his

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birth, in their traditions—and few can boast of a greater degree of fame from posterity. 1840.

The Bugis, as far as I have observed, are a manly and spirited race, the same size as the Malays, slightly formed, but clean limbed, and remarkably free from cutaneous disorders. Their vices, are the vices of their condition and state of society, amongst which laziness and the use of the kris are the most frequent. They are idle, but capable of great exertion under excitement, and might be trained to regular labour, if the produce were at their command.

Their enterprise as colonists and traders is a sufficient proof of their good qualifications; and as a general rule, where we observe a people striving for wealth by means of commerce, we may attribute their idleness in other respects to circumstances which paralyse their efforts, rather than to any defect of character. Distant enterprise is almost confined to the people of Wajo, and they have a saying amongst them, that a Boni or Soping trader must have Wajo blood in his veins. In like manner the colonists which have peopled the shores of Borneo and other places, emigrated chiefly from Wajo; and this probably arose from the superior freedom of their institutions, which allow them to reap the benefit of commerce—and from commerce to colonisation is a natural and easy step.

The Wajo women enjoy perfect liberty, and are free from all the restraints usually imposed by the Mahomedan religion. They are not handsome, but

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1840. playful and good tempered—not modest, though very chaste. The ladies of high rank are as indolent and self-indulgent as ladies of high rank are apt to be.

The Rajah of Tempè and his sister (a fine woman) often visit us, with their train of females. After our voyage from Tesōra, I inquired politely, if the lady found herself fatigued, and was told, with something of a look of astonishment, that she was not. "If I am tired (she said) they must carry me." It was evident my question appeared a needless one, as the very idea of so great a person being fatigued was impossible! The female attendants, some thirty in number, appeared to lead almost as easy a life as their mistress—one carried the silver kettle from which the lady drank; another the ciri box *; a third, the spittoon; and the rest, less honoured, followed empty handed. These ladies, always full of fun and mischief, amused us much, took many lady-like liberties, and talked, often in a very unladylike manner, on unladylike subjects; yet, as I have said, they were chaste.

In the evening I rode to the smaller range of hills which runs by Tampurnŭng. It is composed of a loose sandstone, which crumbles between the fingers, and covered with grass. The appearance of these hills or hummocks is peculiar, as they stand close, yet separate one from each other. To the eastward of them, behind Tempè, there is a basin about two or three miles in length, by a mile

* Leaf to chew.

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wide, the hummocks encircling it are, to the eastward, smaller and more irregular. The level of this basin is elevated above the surrounding country, and it has all the appearance of once having been a small lake, which has in the course of time been drained into the river. 1840.

It now presents the aspect of a pretty little valley, clothed with green grass, and some cultivation. From the summit of the hill, Tesōra is seen at no great distance to the eastward. Pomana to the southward, Latimojong to the north, and the lake spread out to the west, with its boundary of mountains. This is the range mentioned as running from Lumpŭ Batang through the Boni country, and joining within a few degrees of the spur which shoots from Latimojong. Numberless towns and villages speckle the scene, and a considerable river meets the Tempè branch at Sinkong.

Feb. 7. — Ascended the river seen yesterday, which is, in fact, the principal branch of the Sadang or Welluna, as the natives here call it. The current is strong, whereas the stream of water issuing from the lake at Tempè is feeble. My first impression was, that this river, which may with propriety be termed the Sadang or Welluna, found exit from the western part of the lake; but the positive assertion of the natives of its non connection, and the improbability of a shallow lake feeding two such considerable streams convinced me to the contrary. Feb. 7.

The space between the river and the lake is so

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1840. inconsiderable that there is every reason to think that the river, forsaking its present bed, will find some passage into the lake, and cause considerable mischief to the towns placed along the margin of the waters, by the sudden increase of level. In this case the escape of water would be increased at Tempè; and, of course, after a time, the lake would sink again to its present level. The probability that this event is not far distant may be judged, when I state that the low alluvial plain, intervening between the river and the lake, does not exceed a mile in breadth; and that several small streams descend with rapidity from the superior elevation of the river to the inferior one of the lake.

From the extreme laziness of our Bugis boatmen, we did not succeed in getting far up, for these fellows, though they pull pretty well from place to place, have no idea of an excursion without any definite aim — as it was, the whole day was consumed ascending a few miles. The scenery is pretty, although the land is low; groves of cocoa nuts, plantains, and other fruits adorn the left bank, which is like a garden, and the narrow steep on the right is covered with fields of Indian corn and rice. The town of Wagèh, about five miles up the river, stands on the left bank, and consists of about 250 houses, with the remains of a large brick built mosque. It is under the government of the Rajah of Tulla Tendring. As the sun was sinking we found our way by an outlet from the river into the lake, and, after struggling through beds of

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weeds, got into a channel which took us back to Tempè. 1840.

Feb. 8. — Breakfast over, we set off in a canoe for a cruise on the Taparkerajah, keeping along the right bank. It is entirely covered with floating vegetation, which the inhabitants represent as shifting from one side to the other of the lake, according to the prevailing monsoon. The right bank, as I have already mentioned, is low; numerous towns are situated at the water's edge, and about two miles to the eastward runs the sandstone ridge, which separates the basin of the lake from the undulating alluvial plain, stretching to the sea. Behind Bontosok these hills trend more to the eastward, in a N.N.E. direction, gradually receding from the lake towards the eastern span of Latimojong. Feb. 8.

The towns beginning from which nearly join Tempè, are the following:

Sinkong: houses, 600; Tempè, 500; Impagaéh, 75; Limpah Kimpah, 100; Padjalelèh, 250; Ujongèh, 120; Tanchung, 300; Bontosok, 40, on the Lake; Nepoh (between Impagaèh and Limpah Kimpah, at the foot of the hills), 40; and Aramo, 30, between Ujongeh and Tanchung, in the background. The amount, according to this statement, is 2,055 houses, which, reckoned at fifteen persons to each house, a moderate average, will give a population of 30,825 in the few districts round the lake.

There is little difference between one of these

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1840. towns and another, save their size; the houses are generally large, and built, like the houses of the other islands of the Archipelago, on posts. They have all a second floor under the thatch, which gives room for their large families. We chose Dain Matara's house at Bontosok for our quarters, and had an excellent dinner prepared for us by our friend, in true Bugis fashion; dishes and sweetmeats an emperor might have enjoyed, though probably he would not have approved the *style* of serving up the repast.

What life can exceed this in delight? Roving from place to place, amid a friendly population — every want cared for. The day producing fresh store of information and pleasure. Our bird-stuffers in full employment; Murray with his charts; Theylingen with gun and insect-bag; myself with my journal, or, what is worse, entertaining rajahs. I do not pause to mention all the visits we receive — the picture of one *petty court*, is the picture of all. The individuals alone vary in their shades of intelligence, though all alike are civil and hospitable.

The sun now sinks over the blue hills of Si Dendring, and as I gaze on him I think of the Isle of the West—our native land; what son has she in a wilder land! Friends—dear friends, I think upon you too—the binding link to my country, and I wish for some magic power to enable me to bring the scene and place before your eyes and minds; the lake and distant mountains—the dingy

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bamboo house — the dark figures seated around me as I write — the slaughtered birds, the scattered arms — the reclining figures of my shipmates — the touch of evening over the landscape, and the blazing grass on the distant plain! All this is easily enumerated, but not described. It is not the beauty of the scene, but its effects which strike! The wild land, the distant clime — the uncertainty — the novelty of the life, and its very simplicity. As the light fades I close my journal — retire from the *window* — spread my mat, and soon shall lose all consciousness of the labours and pleasures of the day in sleep. 1840.

Feb. 9. — Pulled in our *barge* about the northern part of the lake, but we made poor progress, for, like unwilling horses, our boatmen were ever for turning back, and, being forced forward, proceeded at the slowest possible pace. The aspect of this part of the lake confirms what I have already stated, that it is filling up. Feb. 9.

The first town northward of Bontosok is Loah, 450 houses. It stands at a point, and is enclosed in a thick grove. Off this point the lake is filled up, and there is only a channel communicating with a deep bight beyond, called Loponpaka; after seeing which we returned, past Loah, and pulled across to Tanchung Pare — about 250 houses, and thence returned to Bontosok, which we reached at 8 P.M. Voyaging on these lagoons is highly uninteresting, as during the greater part of the time nothing is to be seen, for the long shrubs

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1840. through which canals are cleared as a way for the boats.

Adding the population of Loah and Tanchung Pare to that of yesterday, we shall have 700 houses, with 10,500 inhabitants; the total being 41,325 persons on the eastern and northern shores. I propose subsequently to add the other towns I have seen, whence we may form some idea of the population of a portion of Wajo.*

Feb. 10. *Feb.* 10. — Embarked for Padjalelèh, already mentioned, to visit the young Arun Ujong. He received us with great politeness, and in the evening showed us a deer hunt with three tame stags. They were turned loose in the paddy fields near the town, and afforded us some sport, and more fun.

The Arun Ujong is a nephew of Lappa Tongì, being the son of his elder brother, Lowunru, by his marriage with the Pata Patalah — and his claim to Si Dendring, according to our laws of succession, is better than his uncle's. He is, however, a firm supporter of his uncle, and has followed him always to the wars. The Arun Ujong is married to a daughter of the Nakodah Palewo; this rich and

* Mr. Bernard, whom I met subsequently, furnished me with the following information, as derived from the natives. Though we agree in taking fifteen persons as the average to each house, I must reject the number of houses. My own observation has led me to the conclusion already mentioned — Loah, 900; Bontosok, 40; Tanchung, 800; Ujongèh, 200; Padjalelèh, 400; Limpah Kimpah, 100; Wanpaguèh, 80; Tempè, 1000; Sinkong, 1000. Total houses, 4520. Total population, 67,800. The difference is great.

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respectable man was on board the Royalist for more than a week, and I was quite glad to see him again. He likewise, with his purse and person, sustains Lappa Tongi's cause, and has received three wounds fighting by his side. 1840.

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CHAP. VII.

SI DENDRING SUCCESSION.—HISTORICAL RECAPITULATION.—LONTARAH OF WAJO.—INTRIGUES AND CABALS.—EUROPEAN INFLUENCE.—RECEPTION AND POLICY OF MR. BROOKE IN WAJO.—CHANGE IN THE COUNCILS OF BONI.—LAKE COVERED WITH WATER LILIES.—FIRE AT WATTEREH.—MUSQUITOES.—AQUATIC BIRDS.—SHAM FIGHT.—INTERVIEW WITH ARU BETING.—INFLUENCE OF ARAB AND CHINESE SETTLERS.

1840. Feb. 11. *Feb.* 11.—IT was urged on me to cross over to Wattereh, and thence, if possible, to visit Tetiagi in the Si Dendring country. I can see no advantage likely to accrue from this visit; yet I am willing to undertake it, as I would embrace the faintest chance of preserving even a temporary peace between the two brothers.

I may here give some account of the different claims to the throne of Si Dendring, the succession to which is shaking the Bugis country to its centre, and includes, in fact, their present political state.

Si Dendring, formerly a dependency of Boni, joins the territory of Wajo on the Taparke Rajah, and touches a portion of the Dutch territory to the westward and southward, stretching to the shores of the Makassar Strait, and bounded by Supa to the northward. The rest of the territory joins that of Soping. This country has for many years been

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free — it is fertile and productive, and possesses a brave population. The late rajah, or adanatuan, of Si Dendring died in 1832, at a very advanced age, and during his reign he added considerably to the extent and importance of his possessions. Being a shrewd and calculating character, he always sided with the Europeans, and supported them against the native states, of which, especially Boni, he was justly suspicious. During the period the English held the territory of Makassar, the adanatuan Si Dendring was their faithful ally and friend. On the return of the Dutch, he was equally in alliance with them; and sided with both powers in their respective wars against Boni. 1840.

With the death of this old gentleman the troubles in Si Dendring began; and in order to understand clearly the claims of the two parties, it is necessary to go back to the history of the family, and its various members. The son of the adanatuan Si Dendring, was named Malisandrang, who in his youth married (with the consent of his father) Immudah, then the young rajah Tulla Tendring, who subsequently became patamapalaka. The high rank of the lady, and her still higher prospects, render it probable that some agreement was made at the time of her espousal respecting the succession to Tulla Tendring and Si Dendring: on this the claim of Lappa Tongi entirely rests, and in support of it, his mother and himself appeal to the records of Wajo, of Boni, and of Soping.

The lontar of these three countries are stated

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1840. The close of the last war left the Datu Lampola in possession of four districts of Si Dendring, viz. Wattăréh, Wenioh, Belloka, and Lisah, whilst his brother retained the throne, the regalia, and the rest of the territory.

Lappa Tongi was preparing a fresh irruption into Si Dendring, backed by the people of Wajo, when, as it is stated, a letter arrived from the Dutch government to the chiefs of Wajo, threatening them with the seizure of their prahus if they invaded Si Dendring; and the tomarilalan, on the part of Boni, threatened Wajo with war. The counter-measure was the application made to the British government from the late rundrang Tulla Tendring, the answer to which, I believe, contains a refusal to meddle in the affairs of Celebes. On my arrival, I was denied admittance into the Boni country, much to my regret.

My reception in Wajo, as has been related, was far different; for the chiefs of that country, though fully aware of the object of my visit and my non-connection with the government, were doubtless glad to have it said that an Englishman was amongst them. It was quite beyond my province to interfere in their affairs, or to act in any way in contravention of the measures of the Dutch government. I have, however, in regulating my conduct, kept two leading principles constantly in view. The first is the avoidance of any act, or any advice, which interfered with the rights of either government, coupled with the repeated

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assurances, in the plainest language, of my private capacity. The second is the right of free inquiry into the condition and policy of the native states, and the relation and conduct of the European governments towards them, — and, likewise, my offering such advice, when required, as tended manifestly to benefit the native states and preserve peace. 1840.

Having said so much of myself, I will only further remark that I fear the latter portion of my advice will be in vain, for the datu lampola, being prepared and determined on war, will, I fear, plunge forward — probably to his own destruction. The authorities of Boni, however, have greatly altered their tone since my arrival, though I am entirely at a loss to guess to what this change may be attributed. Yet I rejoice at it, as it may afford the long-desired opportunity of visiting Boni, and perhaps seeing the caves of Mampo.

Once more to prestate what is found in my note-book, I may mention that, by the advice of Seid Abdullah, the Arab already mentioned, I wrote to the pata moncowèh, stating that, before leaving this country, I wished to acquaint him that my object in coming was to visit the various chiefs, to cultivate their friendship, and to see their country. That I had been informed that some evil-disposed persons had assured him my designs were evil, and that I was an agent of Government, which was utterly at variance with the truth.

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1840. That I wished both happiness and prosperity to the Bugis nations, and believed they could only be prosperous when the three countries of Boni, Wajo, and Soping were firmly allied, as of old. To this communication I received a most flattering reply, and an invitation, with the assurance that he was convinced of my intentions being good and my pursuits of a private nature. On this invitation I am now on my way to Boni; and it is evident some change must have come over their politics, as the king states that it is his great desire the three countries should be allied as they formerly were.

Feb. 13.—Crossed the lake to Wattăréh. One field of large brilliant water lilies extended for four or five miles, presenting the lovely contrast of white flowers and fresh dark-green leaves on a magnificent scale. On the leaves we found some nests of the aquatic birds with which the lake abounds, and the birds themselves ran over or swam amid the flowers. Whilst crossing we observed a fire blazing on the opposite shore, and on arriving learned with regret that the rajah's house, with thirty others, had been destroyed! The consequence was, after some delay, we got housed in a poor hut, together with the rajah, his wife, and the whole train.

Wattăréh stands at the N.W. angle of the Taparke-rajah, and from it a channel communicates with the Sarrow Lake to the northward. It evidently was one body of water originally, and the

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ground on which Wattăréh stands, as well as the greater part of the low alluvial plain between the lake and mountains, was covered with water. The high lands on this shore are beautiful and diversified, and the prospect of the huge Latimojong most magnificent. To the southward of Wattăréh, on the borders of the lake, is Battu Battu, dependent on Soping. To the N. W. Tetiagi, the capital of the Si Dendring country, where Lappa Gnorisan resides. Wattăréh, together with Lisáh Belloka and Wenioh in its immediate vicinity, are properly belonging to the territory of Si Dendring and are the districts which have been taken by the datu lampola, and which he is now required to cede. 1840.

Feb. 14—16. — Passed most miserably at Wattăréh. I was near visiting Tetiagi; but, when the point came, I gave it up, as the datu seemed averse to my going and I had not the slightest hope of being useful. Feb. 14—16.

Lappa Gnorisan was civil enough to invite us to his residence, and Theylingen and Mr. Poons, the interpreter, went to Tetiagi, and returned highly delighted with the magnificence, riches, and feeding of their host. This is natural. Tetiagi is represented as a large town, with two other towns near it; one is Meseppè, in the neighbourhood of a hot-water spring. I here first met Mr. B., a gentleman of intelligence, and devoted to Lappa Gnorisan's cause. From his residence at Tetiagi, and occasional visits to Lagusi, he transmits informa-

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1840. tion to the Makassar government. He acquaints me that a Dutch cruiser has been despatched to watch my movements. I care not: only, if she do come, I will give her a dance, and lodge her, mayhap, on a coral reef. Wattăréh consists of about 200 houses, very greatly reduced by war and fire. It abounds with musquitoes — Oh! the tortures we suffered who shall describe? each livelong night was passed most miserably without sleep, and the day found us fevered and restless under the unceasing persecution. It was with joy, indeed, I hailed the moment of our release.

From the 16th to the 21st our time was idly, but not unpleasantly, passed at Padjalelèh, increasing our store of birds. To me the time was less pleasant than to my companions; for I was confined from an inflammation in my leg, brought on by musquito bites, which gave me great pain, and almost prevented my putting my foot to the ground. I now desired greatly to return on board; but the pressing instances of my hosts obliged me to remain till the aru beting comes to Tanchung, when we are to meet.

I may here say that the lake abounds with aquatic birds, amongst which are wild ducks of two or three sorts; egrets and cranes of various kinds; herons; one or two kinds of bittern; Fulica, of two kinds; Parra, with a crimson top knot; two species resembling curlew-divers (Grebe); cormorants, darters, &c.; besides owls, hawks, quails, &c. on land. Our number of species amounts to forty

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or more here alone; and I doubt not some of them will be found rare, if not new.* 1840.

Feb. 21. — This was the day fixed for my meeting the aru † beting. Though my leg was inflamed and painful, I managed to mount a horse, and accompanied by the rajahs Lappa Tongi, Ujong, and Karain, with a train of three or four hundred men, rode to Tanchung. Our approach having been previously announced, the aru beting, with about a thousand followers, emerged from the town, and both parties halted in the plain, at a distance of half a mile from each other. Loud shouts and great clamour were followed by a general charge of horse and foot. The *horse-tail* spears, the shining krises, and the prancing animals produced a pleasing effect; and when the parties met, they went through all the show of an engagement — horse pushed against horse — spear was levelled against spear — mimic blows were exchanged between the kris men, and the muskets were discharged as fast as they could be loaded. When the engagement had lasted for some time, the two parties intermixed and halted, and our cavalcade advanced to where the aru beting was awaiting us on horseback. Feb. 21.

This chief, the head of the Wajo state, is about fifty years of age, dark complexioned, with a quick eye, and few marks of Bugis origin: his appear-

* The natural history collections made in Celebes and Borneo were unfortunately all lost on their way home.

† Arun, a title equivalent to rajah; always spelt arun, but before a consonant the *n* is mute.

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1840. ance is more like that of a Turk. I accompanied him to his residence, but was in so much pain during the whole interview, that I fear I acquitted myself badly. In the evening an immense concourse fired at the target. After which I took my departure, and was never more glad than when I got back to Padjalelèh. I found the greater number of our people had proceeded to Tempè, according to my directions, whence to-morrow they return to the schooner. M'Kenzie and Poons I have kept with me, and I hope soon to follow. Mr. B. again visited me.

Feb. 25. *Feb.* 25. — I may here close the daily journal, condensing my remaining stay in Wajo and the information I gained, into as brief a space as possible. Before leaving Tempè, Seid Abdullah, whom I have before mentioned, visited me, and I had frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with him. Much evil is by most writers attributed to the Arab settlers and traders in Malay countries: that they are often religious impostors I doubt not; and, from their influence amongst the natives, may do much mischief; but perhaps their bad character has been exaggerated, on account of their uniform opposition to European government.* The rule of Europeans is opposed to their interests; and though their conduct may spring from personal motives, yet they are invariably supporters of native independence.

* Further acquaintance with the Arabs has induced Mr. Brooke to alter his opinion on this point.

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1840.

Not so the Chinese. They became the willing and grinding tools of any or every government, and their interest is better advanced under a corrupt government than a native state. The Bugis, however, are free from the examples and contagion of both these races. Seid Abdullah, with half a dozen other Arabs dependent on him, are the only ones I met; and during my stay I saw but one renegade Chinese, and he kept a gambling shop at Tesōra. The reputation of Seid Abdullah is great throughout the three Bugis states; and though his permanent residence be at Tempè, he is constantly called to Boni and Soping by the rajahs of those countries. His influence and good sense I consider highly beneficial; and the well-being and independence of the states a matter of great importance to him.

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CHAP. VIII.

NAKODAH PELEWO.—NATIVE GOVERNMENTS.—ANECDOTE OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—CEREMONY OF CIRCUMCISION.—SUPERSTITION AND SUPPOSED RUINS.—VILLAGE SHRINES.—TRACES OF HINDUHISM.—FAITH IN OMENS.—DEER-HUNT.—BUGIS LITERATURE AND MUSIC.—DANCING-GIRLS.—MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.—SINGAPORE POLICE.—DESIRE OF PROTECTION.—ALLIGATORS.—LETTER FROM BONI.—CONFERENCE OF CHIEFS.—ELECTION OF KING.—EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS.—A BOAT-LOAD OF RAJAHS.

1840. BEFORE leaving Padjalelèh, I must not omit to mention my friend, the nakodah Pelewo, a man of upright mind and liberal principles. Any nation might be proud to own him; and, for myself personally, I feel the warmest interest in his welfare, after being well acquainted with his simplicity, honesty, and hospitality. He is, for a Bugis, very rich, and may be considered the head of the middle class which has risen in Wajo from the wealth acquired in trade—a class which will encroach upon and overthrow the feudal system.

The nakodah's sons and daughters are all highly married—the former to rajahs, the latter, to the highest blood; and, surrounded by his relatives, this patriarchal old man lives at Padjalelèh, the happiest and best-governed town in Wajo. The difference between Padjalelèh and Tempè is most striking. Tempè, under the rule of the young rajah Karaino, is a nest of plunderers and thieves;

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and the ruler himself is surrounded by a set of miscreants, to whom he affords countenance and protection. Padjalelèh, on the contrary, under the upright nakodah Palewo, is a peaceful, honest, and industrious town, and the arun Ujong represses and punishes the vices of his followers. 1840.

A striking example of this difference occurred whilst I was staying there. A follower of the rajah Karain, who had assumed the character of a physician, came to the house of a relative of the nakodah; and, after sitting some time in converse with the lady of the house, said,—"I wish you would let somebody carry my bundle to Nepoh, where I am going" (Nepoh was about three miles off). The poor woman immediately said,—"My nephew shall do it for you;" and the boy (about ten years of age) went with the pretended physician, as was thought, to Nepoh. Some days, however, elapsing, and the boy not coming back, his aunt grew uneasy; and, setting some inquiries on foot, found that the man whom he had gone with was at Tempè. On being applied to, the miscreant coolly replied, that the boy came back the same evening; the real fact being that he had sold him as a slave, no one knew where. Under these circumstances the nakodah applied to me to use my influence with the datu lampola in order to recover the boy, and I immediately applied to him, and received the fullest assurance that if the boy was alive he should be found. A week, however, passing, and no news being obtained, I renewed my instances more

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1840. warmly; and urged that if the man would not disclose what he had done with the boy, he ought to be put in confinement. Such plain dealing appeared, however, to be altogether out of the question, for he was a follower of the aru Karain! On further inquiry I learnt that the *very rascal* who had stolen and sold the boy, had been sent to repurchase him with twenty-five reals* of the datu's money. I was very ill satisfied at the time; but had afterwards the satisfaction of learning from the nakodah the intelligence that the poor boy, who had been sold in Si Dendring, was to return home immediately.

The boy will be restored, but the perpetrator of this villany will go unpunished; and, probably, save for my presence, and certainly in the case of any other man except the nakodah, no inquiry would have been set on foot, and no redress obtained.

Feb. 28 *Feb.* 28. — Returned to Tempè, after a second visit to the aru beting; during which I was present at the ceremony of circumcision.

The house was decorated with a number of chandeliers of a novel and simple construction. The soft stems of the plantain tree, about four feet long, were suspended from the ceiling, and ornamented with vast numbers of sticks stuck in them, surmounted by painted eggs or coloured paper. At night these are replaced by candles, formed, as is usual, with a slip of bamboo, covered with the fruit

* A real is two Dutch rupees, or 3*s.* 4*d.* English.

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of a bruised nut, mixed with cotton. A dense crowd was present at the ceremony, with half a dozen priests seated in a conspicuous place. On the arrival of the aru beting, the first thing the old gentleman did was to order the priests, koran, and instruments into a corner, whilst he occupied the cool seat by the window. One hajji read the koran in Arabic, which none understood; and at proper intervals, the multitude gave responses in the same unknown tongue. When the responses were not sufficiently loud, the aru beting roared out to have them louder, and set the example, turning round to me occasionally with a loud laugh, and patting me on the back in his self-approval. The crowd of men and boys, inspired by their chief, roared lustily, and laughed, and talked, as though the reading of their scripture was vastly amusing. Three boys were decked out in gay, scarlet, gold-embroidered petticoats; one by one they were seated on a low stool, and the office performed by an aged priest with much decency. The crowd laughed and shouted louder than ever; and a number of women, probably relatives, showered flowers on the perfect moslem. An abundant feast succeeded, and what could not be eaten was carried away. The ornaments in the chandeliers were likewise taken by any one who could get them; and a piece of small silver money having been presented to each of the chiefs, we took our departure at sunset.

1840.

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1840.
Feb. 30. *Feb.* 30.—Tempè. Rode to some reported ruins near the town of Palipu. Palipu is nearly east of Bontōsok, and stands on the sandstone range behind that town. It is a considerable place, and under the government of the aru beting. The ruin proved to be nothing but a large shed situated in a thick wood, within which the people make offerings. On this shrine we found cocoa-nuts, water ciri, carved bits of wood, &c.; and around, a number of fowls let loose, to propitiate the evil spirit.*

The same custom, on a smaller scale, exists all over the Bugis country; each village having a small shrine at some little distance, where offerings are made. This is evidently the remains of a religion anterior to Mahomedanism. The natives seem to entertain the most confused notions of the purpose of these shrines; but the better educated, whilst they laugh at the superstition, point to Bali† as the seat of the same religion. The multitude believe in the existence of evil spirits, and the shrines are erected on the places of their residence, in order to propitiate their good will and avert their vengeance. At the larger shrine of Palipu, I obtained, however, a proof of the ancient religion being Hindu.

In a smaller shed, a few yards from the larger one, there stood a rounded stone, in shape and appearance the same we see in so many Hindu

* The vagabonds belonging to the rajah Karain stole these sacred chickens!

† An island immediately east of Java.

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temples; and, as in Hindustan, offerings had been made by sprinkling it with oil and water. It is curious to observe the existence of the superstition long after the religion has disappeared; and it is lamentable to reflect, that, whilst the truths which all creeds teach are easily effaced, the corrupt ceremonial survives. 1840.

The Bugis, generally, are greatly given to faith in omens; tokens of good or evil fortune are derived from animate and inanimate objects; horses, dogs, cats, &c., according to their particular marks or the turn of the hair, indicate one or the other. Prahus, houses, and krises, all bear some marks by which fate is deciphered. Some of the former, from peculiar knots in the wood, predict inevitable shipwreck; others are doomed to destruction by piracy, by fire, or by mutiny; whilst others, more fortunate, are to bring wealth and safety to the owner. These are, however, but the superstitions common to all times and all nations, in different ways, and springing from sources formerly dependent on, but now distinct from, religion.

My ride to Palipu tired me much; for the day was broiling hot, and my leg, bad before, was considerably worse for the exertion.

March 2. — Wagèh. An unsuccessful deer-hunt brought us here; and with my sore leg, I had little heart for the sport; for riding through the long grass gave me pain, and threw me back. Our hunting ground was between the sandstone range and the Sadang river, on its left bank. The country is March 2.

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1840. pretty, and above Wagèh is the town of Chalako, consisting of about 100 houses. One deer was started close to me, and I had five minutes gallop amongst the rest. M^c^Kenzie, later in the morning, started a hog on very difficult ground, and, sailor-like, pursued him; the natives, thinking it a deer, rode like madmen from all quarters. They certainly are very bold horsemen.

March 3. *March* 3.—Tempè. During my stay I have been anxiously inquiring for manuscripts, but without success; and I am inclined to believe that Dr. Leyden, in the list he gives of Bugis works, has been misled by the exaggeration of the natives. The lontarahs, several volumes of the voyages and adventures of Sawira Gading*, and some books of sayings of their wise men, are all I could hear of; and Mr. B., who is well acquainted with the language, confirms this opinion. However, this refers to Wajo alone. Luwu, as the most ancient state and the birthplace of their traditional hero, may be richer in literature. Music there is none in Wajo, nor do the people seem to have any taste for singing, to which the Malays are attached; a common tom-tom or drum, and a small gong, were the only instruments I heard as accompaniments to four dancing women. These dancing girls were plain, and dressed with great modesty, the sarong being fastened by a belt round the waist, and a

* The rajahs bestowed the name of Saurra Gading on Mr. Brooke; a delicate piece of flattery.—ED.

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square shawl of red or yellow over their shoulders, entirely concealing the bosom. 1840.

On their heads they wore a high pasteboard ornament, gilt and painted, with four or five ribbons, dangling from it to the waist. Their eyes were stained black; their lips and finger nails, red; and several red patches were dispersed about the face. They stood in a row, and moved slowly, each in turn taking up the song, and twirling and rapping the fan they carried in their hands. Occasionally, a man was selected to dance with them, who chose one, moving round her with a motion resembling St. Vitus's dance, and indicating his amorous passion by approaching and smelling her person like a satyr. Nothing could be more dull or stupid, or, what was worse almost, interminable.

March 5. — Returned to Bontōsok, and on the following day removed once again to Padjalelèh, where I am more comfortable and better acquainted with the people. The chief manufacture of the Bugis land is the cloth for sarongs; and on the product of this cloth the families generally obtain what little money they require. Their articles of food are easily procured. The rice and Indian corn is cultivated by their slaves. Fish are caught in the lake, generally small, and of a dark colour; fowls live about the houses; and food thus costs them nothing, save on occasions of marriage or funeral feasts. The repair of their houses, and the stock in trade for purchasing cotton thread for their manufacture, is the chief outlay. March 5.

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1840. The thread procured at Singapore is far cheaper, though less durable, than the Bugis cotton. Sarongs made of the latter are more expensive and far more durable; and the manufacture is chiefly carried on by females; in every house a number of hand-looms being at work. The cargoes brought by the Bugis prahus are in part procured from the eastward. Tortoise-shell, gold, mother-of-pearl, shell, &c. come from the eastern islands, on the northern extremity of Celebes. The staples of Bugis land are sarongs and coffee. The latter is chiefly grown on the mountains near Sangi, or in the Boni range.

The export of sarongs is very unprofitable, as they usually cost more than they sell for at Singapore. Coffee is more advantageous, the cost being from seven to nine reals per pical, and selling at good prices. The whole of the trade, however, is conducted on so small a scale, that a European vessel would have to lie for months, and be subject to a thousand vexations, before she disposed of her cargo and filled another. It is on the return cargo the Bugis usually make their profits; it consists chiefly of arms, gunpowder, opium, and cottons. These, particularly the first, sell at an enormous advance either for money or barter. The currency is entirely copper, dollars being few and rarely seen. Pice * from Singapore, or Batavia and China cash are used.

The nakodahs are by far the most liberal and

* Small copper money.

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civil class, and generally speak Malay well. Several of them made strong complaints of the Singapore police, asserting that they were constantly searched, *fined*, and their people put in confinement, and threatened with being taken to the court. 1840.

They said likewise, that malicious persons were in the habit of concealing a small quantity of opium in their boats, and then calling a peon, sure to be at hand, who, finding the opium, seized the boat, upon which they had sometimes to give forty or fifty dollars to get her released. These statements are probably exaggerated; but, knowing as I do what the native police is, and likewise the dread and apprehension entertained by these people of our courts of justice, I can readily believe there is some truth in the tale, and certainly the conduct of the police ought to be most strictly watched. Apprehension and exposure in courts are looked on by these people as disgraceful; and, accustomed only to arbitrary power, they form very false notions of punishments, having no idea of public justice, but trusting entirely on individual influence. On this account, to know the governor of Singapore is accounted a protection; and, in the same way, an acquaintance with any English gentleman gives them a sense of security which they never enjoy from any thing told them of laws or justice.

Many asked me for a *pass*, evidently conceiving that even the Dutch government would respect it. It was in vain to assure them it was of no use; and when I gave them a certificate,

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1840. stating that they were respectable persons, known to me in Bugis land, and quietly trading with Singapore, they appeared quite satisfied. I wish, indeed, *my pass* could afford them the protection they desire.

March 8. *March* 8.—Tempè once again.

I am most anxious to start, but the rajahs have delayed me, day by day, for the last week. We have been constantly in the habit of bathing in the lake since our arrival, though informed by the natives that there were alligators in it. This evening I had ocular demonstration of the fact; for whilst walking on the river side, close to our usual bathing-place, a large alligator rushed into the water within a few yards of me.

March 9. *March* 9.—Dropped down the river to Tesōra. At Tesōra I received a cordial invitation from the pata mancowè of Boni. The manner of conducting business is so extraordinary that I may describe it here. Returning from my evening walk, I was informed that a messenger had arrived from Boni with a letter, which he was directed to deliver into my own hands. Putting on my jacket, I joined the circle round the datu lompula, and the letter was presented and received in due form. Being handed to Dain Matara, he translated it aloud in Malay, and then re-read it aloud in Bugis, for the benefit of the whole crowd. Much approbation was expressed, and at the conclusion one of the pangawas commenced a commentary on it. "It is a very excellent letter," he remarked; "and if Boni and

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Wajo were on good terms, as formerly was the case, the countries would flourish, and the datu regain Si Dendring; but, in order to settle this matter, we must have an aru matoah, or else the pata mancowè will not transact business." "Oh! yes," said many voices, "we ought to have an aru matoah. The aru beting must appoint an aru matoah. He must be desired to come here immediately." "If he won't come," added another, "we will have war." 1840.

An old hajji tried to defend the aru beting, remarking, that, if he did not appoint an aru matoah, he could go himself to Boni, and renew the good understanding; but the pangawa was decidedly of a contrary opinion, and the company generally sided with him; one saying he was a foolish old man, always thinking of trifles, instead of the good of the country; at last it was settled that the rajahs present, as well as a deputation of the pangawas should wait on the aru beting, and urge him to convene a general meeting of the rajahs, in order to elect an aru matoah. You must be here, said the pangawa of Tulla Tendring, and then he will do it. I consented, if they really could induce him to proceed to the appointment, and in this consent I had a lurking desire to see the ceremonial of the institution. At the same time, I conceive it to be the very best thing which could happen for the country.

At the installation of the aru matoah, I am told that all the rajahs, the freemen, and their respective followers, are present, forming a vast body of

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1840. people. One part of the ceremony is curious and characteristic. The chief about to be elected urges his unfitness for the office. "I am foolish," he says. — "I am pusillanimous — I am poor." The response is, "Wajo is wise — Wajo is brave — Wajo is rich." Great rejoicings take place, and allegiance is sworn to the elected monarch.

March 10. *March* 10. — Delayed at Tesōra for want of horses.

March 11. *March* 11. — Royalist. Glad to be on board again. I was accompanied down by the datu lampula, and the rajahs Karain and Bilè. On board I found all getting on well, and two or three sick men convalescent.

March 12. *March* 12. — After leading a wild life for six weeks, it is agreeable to return to the comforts, small though they be, of my own vessel. Here I have a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit on; a knife and fork to eat with, and books to read. Our food differs little from that of the natives. The stock of wine and spirits has been out some time, our biscuit is finished, and sugar and tea we have none. These privations, if they can be so called, fall equally on all; and I believe no one cares about them, as we get rice as a substitute for biscuit, and the country furnishes us besides with coffee, palm sugar, and fowls; sometimes a little venison, or a tough buffalo.

March 13. *March* 13. — Despatched Dain Matara in the gig to Bajuè and Boni, to intimate that I was ready to visit the pata mancowè, if he desired it.

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1840.
March 14.

March 14. — On shore. Rajah Penrang arrived. Lappa Tongi about to depart from Doping, to get every thing ready at Tesōra, as *he says;* but the truth is, a prahu of one of his chief supporters has arrived filled with munitions of war. I believe her non-appearance has hitherto kept him quiet. The habit of *exchanging presents*, common to the East, is most especially inconvenient in Bugis land, from the overwhelming number of rajahs — all of them showy flashy fellows, very fond of showy things.

My stock has run so low that I am going to sacrifice a microscope and rifle at the shrine of the Boni king. In Wajo, I had presented to me a handsome kris, by Lappa Tongi, and a hunting-spear; a war-spear, by arun Ujung; a light hunting-spear and a brace of deer, by aru beting; and twenty sarongs, by different persons. The sarongs, except three for my own use, I have distributed amongst the crew, who have all taken to wearing them by night, or else make them into trowsers. The spears with the noose for catching deer are neat, and will afford the best idea of their mode of hunting, which, however, has been excellently delineated by Thylingen, in a sketch of the chase. The kris, or hunting-knife, was the property of the late pata mapalaka, and as such I esteem it.

In return for these presents, or rather previous to his gift, I sent Lappa Tongi a little gunpowder, four muskets, a piece of flowered muslin, another

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1840. of Surat silk, one of handkerchiefs; besides a looking-glass, soap, and beads, &c. to his lady. Lappa Tongi is an open-handed chieftain, highly popular throughout Bugis. His talents are mediocre; his manner reserved and melancholy, but good tempered and easy. He speaks but very little, but what he does say is sensible enough. He is certainly a formidable antagonist, being supported by four of the great chiefs of Wajo; by powerful connections both in Boni and Soping, by Merioh and Supa, the warlike rajah of which has always been the first to enter the lists in his favour. His country is situated on the west coast, to the north of Parè Parè, as far as I can make out.

March 15. *March* 15. — Settled with the Rajahs Penrang, Karain and Bilè, to carry them to-morrow as far as Akutaingan, the residence of the late aru matoah.*

March 16. *March* 16. — At eight last evening came the three great men and their train, *thirty in all*, *stowed* in our long boat. Dropping down the Doping river, they stove the boat on the stump of a tree; and, when they got into the sea-way, they could hardly keep her afloat. The night was wretchedly passed; deck, cabins, berths, all full; rajahs rolling on the carpet, smoking opium, so thick that it was difficult to find a passage amongst them. At mid-day a feather breeze springing up allowed us to get under weigh, as I was most anxious to be rid of this live

* This old rajah, preferring retirement to power, voluntarily resigned the kingly office.

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lumber! Dain Matara arrived after we had the anchor up, with a renewal of the invitation from the pata mancowè. Leaving our anchorage off Doping, which will be found marked, a vessel must give a good berth to the next point called Redi, passing between it and the large shoal in the offing, which is a continuation of the second Lakatompah; a good look-out must be kept for detached patches, and great care taken not to approach the shore, as there is a line of shoal extending a long way out. 1840.

Passing Redi the land again sinks into a moderately deep bay between that point and the point of Akutaingan. Near the latter is the river of the same name, the mouth of which, at low water, is too shoal for our long boat, one mile and a half off the shore. Our anchorage was about four miles distant.

I got the rajahs and their attendants away as speedily as possible, for I never was so sick as of these senseless fools, who cannot move without being followed by dozens of men and old women.

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CHAP. IX.

A CYNICAL KING AND HIS NO LESS CYNICAL MISTRESS. — FEAST OF THE LOR DARA. — NARROW ESCAPE OF THE ROYALIST. — ARRIVAL AT BONI. — FORTUNES OF THE CITY. — RECEPTION BY THE PATAMANCOWÈ. — GOVERNMENT OF BONI. — LUDICROUS ETIQUETTE AT THE COURT OF BONI. — COSTUME OF THE COURTIERS. — OBTAIN LEAVE TO VISIT THE CAVE OF MAMPO.

1840. March 17. *March* 17. — FOLLOWED the rajahs to Akutaingan, which is situated about seventeen miles up the stream. The banks are low and alluvial: the first part through the mangrove belt, which girts this part of the coast, and then gradually rising a few feet, and covered with lively light foliage, intermixed with occasional houses. In the evening we arrived at, and got stowed away in, an excellent house, without any furniture. Torrents of rain descended during the night.

March 18. *March* 18. — This place being represented as abounding with deer and wild buffaloes, we were desirous of attacking them without delay; but delay is the prevailing order of things in this land. The late aru matoah visited us after breakfast: an elderly good-looking savage, whose propensity for wild life and the pleasures of the chase is so strong, that he cannot prevail on himself to bear the restraint of an occasional residence at Tesōra, for the discharge of his kingly functions. He resides entirely in this wild country, holding little

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communication with the other chiefs; and with his followers devotes himself solely to the chase and opium smoking. His habits are eccentric, as he despises all the luxuries and conveniences of life. His fare is homely, and derived from his favourite pursuit. Home he has none; a temporary shed or an adjacent hut serving him as occasion requires, whilst his own house, large and well finished and far better than the generality of those possessed by the chiefs, is untenanted, without mats, screens, or any furniture. 1840.

This, as an honour, I suppose, was given to us; at any rate it was better than residing in the hovel in which the chief himself lived, where with dogs and fighting-cocks within and horses without, we should have found ourselves in entire discomfort. The manners of this old man, like those of fox-hunting squires of our own country, have a degree of frankness and bluntness, mixed with the expression of sovereign contempt for all other men and all other pursuits, save those attached to the sports of the field. On the inherent obtuseness of his own nature he seems to have engrafted some portion of the sagacity of the dog and the generosity of the horse; and as his affection is centered in these animals, they are the objects of admiration and imitation.

A mistress, young and beautiful, follows the fortunes of this old sporting chief, and perhaps the link which binds him to her is her participation in his pursuits. She hunts with him, wanders with

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1840. him, lives with him, and even smokes opium with him. It grieved me to see so pretty a creature lost to better things, for the expression of her face bespoke so much sweetness and good temper, that I am sure she was intended for a happier, a better fate.

March 19. *March* 19. — Rain in the morning prevented our taking the field till nine o'clock; and then they mounted my followers so badly, that I threatened to return. The country is very pretty, and the view from the river side was as enticing a woodland scene as a sportsman could wish to cast his eye over.

Patches or strips of wood, and swelling knolls, broke the uniformity of the grass plain and gave diversity to the chase. The sea, with our vessel in the distance, and Latimojong, with his cloud-capped head, added to the picturesque effect of the scene. Over night an enclosure of about four miles had been put round some detached covers, to prevent the deer wandering from them.

This is formed by strips of the young leaf of the lontar palm, wound on slight sticks; which, being white and waving to and fro, so frighten the deer that they will not pass under them. The hounds were turned in, and soon game was afoot. The horsemen on the naked backs of their steeds, one hand grasping the short bridle together with the mane, the other bearing the spear with the noose attached, dashed over the ground in fearless style, at the top of their speed; but in this chase the deer

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would probably be too fast for them, if not confused and surrounded. 1840.

As it is, he turns and turns, to avoid first one and then another, and is usually noosed as soon as clear of the wood. When caught, his strength is such that they are compelled to pierce him with the spear, which is so contrived as to slip clear of the rope, as a strain comes on it, leaving the deer attached to the horse. The game being killed, chilies, salt, and limes (always carried to the field), are brought; the heart taken out; and, with portions of the liver and inside of the thigh, is minced and eaten raw with these ingredients — the sauce being blood! This is the real lor dara, or feast of blood; and neither record nor tradition (that I could hear of) describes it as a practice in war.*

The lor dara, as I have described, would, no doubt, shock the fastidious; but I ate of it, and found it by no means bad or revolting. To my taste, it was preferable to devouring living oysters or periwinkles, which those who shudder at this custom are in the habit of considering a delicacy. Our sport this day was not good; our entertainment rude; and as the old savage had thought proper to mount us badly, I resolved to depart on the return of our long boat.

March 20. — Long boat arrived; and leaving Akutaingan in the evening, we reached the March 20.

* Mr. B——, whom I have often had occasion to mention, states that he likewise has been unable to trace any such practice.

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1840. Royalist at half-past eleven, after a delightful pull by moonlight.

March 21. *March* 21. — At three, under weigh, beating with a light breeze and cloudy weather, ran suddenly on a shoal, not seen before, out of six fathoms in one cast, into half two — went about, quarter two, and on each side passed close through rocks on which the vessel would have struck. The spot is marked. Our escape was narrow; for with a slight heave of a sea we should probably have met with considerable damage. The navigation of this bay is most critical, and in dark weather frightful.

March 23. *March* 23. — Reached Penekè and anchored.

March 24. *March* 24. — Having intimated our arrival to the pata mancowè, an audience was fixed for the day after to-morrow.

March 27. *March* 27. — The meeting with the pata mancowè is over — the long-desired meeting which lays all the Bugis country open to me: had this event happened earlier, I might have made excellent use of the advantage; now, at this late season, I can do comparatively little. I may say, with the poet, *Dopo tanti sospiri e voti tanti, Te vedo e calco libera terra.* I may pride myself on having slowly and gradually overcome their prejudices, and triumph at this fruit of forbearance and patience. Landing at Bajuè, with a large party of ten persons, we proceeded on horseback to Boni, situated to the westward about four miles distant.

The alluvial plain is about a dozen miles in extent, and the surface is interspersed with large

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masses of coral, proclaiming its once having been covered by the sea. The country from Bajuè to Boni is cultivated and rich; and between the two places is the village of Timojong — the name of the high mountain, and the title of one of the aru pitu. The capital of Boni was burnt to the ground in the last war with the Dutch; and it was only a year or two ago that the patamankowè returned to it. It stands on a rich and varied plain, and some excellent new houses have already been built. 1840.

On dismounting from our steeds, near the gate of the court, we were met by the aru Tannetè under the gate-way, and conducted at once into the presence of the patamankowè. A body of 3000 or 4000 men were ranged within and without the court-yard, dressed precisely alike, in skull caps and blue sarongs over the kris. A dead silence was preserved as we passed through them, and afforded a striking contrast to the inexpressible tumult of our reception at Tesōra. Eight or ten spearmen, clad in coats of bright chain armour, guarded the entrance, and presented the only display of arms we saw.

The patamankowè was seated at the head of a table in a moderate-sized hall; on his right sat the tomarilalan, the aru Tannetè, and the aru Timojong: on the left our party took their seats. Behind the monarch were half a dozen handsome boys, his own relations; and two rows of young rajahs were seated cross-legged on his right hand.

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1840. Like those without, they were naked to the waist, wearing only skull caps and sarongs, and preserving a profound silence.

The patamankowè is about fifty years of age, dark complexioned, with a good-tempered expression and pleasant manner. His stature is above the middle height, and he is corpulent. His dress was a plain long robe (like a morning gown) of English chintz, fastened with a number of gold studs at the throat and wrists; his kris was quite plain; and he wore a black skull cap on his head.

The tomarilalan, an older-looking man, was dressed in the same manner, and all present were marked by the same plainness of attire. Being seated, I expressed myself gratified at his receiving me, as he was aware that I was only a private English gentleman, travelling for my own pleasure, unconnected with any government. He replied he was fully aware of it, and he likewise was a private gentleman on this occasion.

Our conversation was well sustained: the great man spoke much, inquired of our habits and customs, and the difference between ourselves and the Dutch. Like the rest of the chiefs, he seemed interested when I told him I had visited Turkey (or Roum, as they call it), and spoke much of the *power* of the sultan, inquiring whether the nations of Europe did not pay tribute to him!!

I presented him a watch, which he seemed pleased with, but remarked that the Bugis always managed to break them very soon. After much

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more conversation, and many expressions of his pleasure at seeing me, and my delight at seeing him, I ventured to request permission to visit Mampo. He hummed and hawed; but, like a skilful general, I pressed on with repeated charges, till he intimated that he would send people to the cave to see that it was fit to be visited, and inform the rajah of the district of my wish. I was *forced* to rest here; but was positively told by my old acquaintance the Arab, that no doubt I should get the desired permission. 1840.

March 31.—A second meeting with the patamankowè leaves me little further to describe, the ceremony being much the same as on the first occasion. I must, however, mention the collation of sweetmeats, which was excellent, various, and delicate: coffee, which would have been considered good in Stamboul or Paris, and tea fit to drink even in Canton. I must here add a fresh list of the aru pitu, obtained from a better authority than the last. Perhaps they are the same; but I cannot refer conveniently to the former journal:— March 31.

Aru — Ujong,
Tannetè,
Timojong,
Machege,
Poŭnching,
Tah.

I have no reason to alter the particulars I formerly mentioned concerning the government

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1840. of Boni, only qualifying it, however, with the remark that the constitution is a name rather than a reality at present; the country, as far as I can observe, being reduced under the despotic sway of the patamankowè. The power of the monarch seems to have no limit; none can approach him on terms of equality, save the aru matoah of Wajo, and the datu of Soping. The authority delegated by him to his minister appears equally arbitrary, and the aru pitu—the great council—is a mere tool in his hands. I shall not allude to the condition of Boni, as I have spoken to none of the chiefs on the politics of their country, or of their feelings towards the Dutch; I have rigidly adhered to my principle of not touching on public affairs till my advice is sought; but I believe, had I on this occasion broken through my rule, I might have told these great men some plain sensible truths, calculated to work well on their politics generally. I am content, however, to let the matter rest.

The etiquette of this court proves how despotic it has become: when the patamankowè sits, all sit; when he rises, all rise: so far things are within reasonable bounds; but should he ride, and fall from his horse, all about him must fall from their horses likewise. If he bathe, all must bathe too, and those passing go into the water in the dress, good or bad, they may chance to have on.

The population of the town of Boni is as yet small. Timojong, likewise, has not recovered the

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effects of war. Bajoè contains from 150 to 180 houses. The country generally is well cultivated and rather populous; but I am by no means able to form any estimate of the number of its inhabitants, as so many are collected from a distance. 1840.

I forgot in its proper place to mention another custom of the court: no one appears with a handkerchief about the head, in the presence of the patamankowè. The lower class wear the skull-cap on the back of the cranium. The sovereign and his brother wear it cocked to the left side; other nobles to the right, and cocked according to the rank! White skull-caps distinguish the young rajahs, who compose the body-guard, if it may be so called; that is, spear-bearers, sword-bearers, ciri-box-bearers, spitoon-bearers, shield-bearers, &c., to the amount of two hundred or three hundred. At my last visit I saw the pangawa, who is dreadfully ill, and I should think dangerously. His death would disturb the country.

I likewise obtained leave to visit Mampo, under the care of the aru Tannetè, who proceeds by land, whilst I sail to the mouth of the Chinrana river. Much trouble have I taken to see this cave, and now I begin to fear I may find my time and pains have been thrown away in the pursuit of a shadow. The exaggeration of the natives on all occasions makes me apprehend this; but they have exaggerated so consistently, that I still hope to find it worth something.

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CHAP. X.

ENTER THE RIVER LATONRO — ITS RAMIFICATIONS, AND THE TOWNS ON ITS BANKS. — BUGIS HOSPITALITY. — LOWER CHINRANA. — PORT DUES. — CORAL ROCKS. — MARKETS. — CHEAPNESS OF PROVISIONS. — APPROACH THE HILL OF MAMPO. — INTERIOR OF THE CAVE.—HALLS, PASSAGES, AND STALACTITES. — NATIVE SHRINES. — CORAL HILLS. — CURIOUS EFFECTS OF LIGHT. — RESEMBLANCE TO THE HALLS OF ALHAMBRA. — PROCEED UP THE RIVER, HERE BORDERED BY NUMEROUS TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND GARDENS.—FEUD AMONG THE NATIVE CHIEFS.—TROUBLES AND DISSENSIONS.

1840.
April 1.

April 1. — Maraluatu anchorage. The Sadang or Lockuna river emerges, by numerous shallow mouths, on each side of Tanjong Lowni. To the southward and westward of the point are the entrance of Maraluatu, Latonro, and two smaller ones. The Lowni stream, to the northward and eastward, is the principal outlet; and there is another on the same side, farther to the northward. These different branches join near Chinrana, which is the key of the river, and consequently a place of considerable importance.

I left the vessel in the evening, and entered the mouth of Latonro, which is nearly dry at low water. The straggling town consists of 100 houses, situated in the low ground, amid the mazes of the river. A few fowls and other provisions may be procured here, and fresh water may be had by going a few

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1840.

miles up. The stream is narrrow and winding, and leads into the Lowni branch of the river, just below the town of Lapanlimur.

The entrance by Lowni is reported by the natives to have a passage with two fathoms; and in coming out of it at low tide, we found a fathom water in many places over the bar, which leads me to believe their statement. The bar spreads out in flats, and is covered with fishing-stakes: so a vessel intending to enter should round the passage well, as far up as the town of Lowni. In going up the river, this straggling town stands on the right hand, and opposite to it is Lankeron, together consisting of 200 houses.

The stream above Lowni is fine, about 150 yards broad, clear, and apparently deep, with muddy low banks. A short distance above Lowni, on the right bank, is the town of Lapanlimur, of eighty houses. A few prahus are laid up here, and some of the rudely constructed boats which trade to Lowni. Two miles or more above Lapanlimur, the river divides into two branches, the principal one running to the left hand; they unite again below Chinrana, forming an island covered with cocoa-nuts and plantains. A little below, the Maraluatu branch unites with the main stream. I did not ascend it; but from Mr. Murray's account I learn there are about thirty houses at Maraluatu, and that several branches run to the westward. A small creek likewise unites it with the Latonro entrance. Above the confluence of these different

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1840. streams, is the town of Chinrana, the residence of the undri guru, a governor of the country.

We found every thing prepared for our arrival, and were treated with the same hospitality and kindness which has all along marked our progress. Sweetmeats, with excellent coffee and tea, were served up on our arrival at six o'clock, and at nine, when I was seriously projecting an escape from the rajahs under the plea of going to bed, we were astonished by the appearance of a substantial and excellent dinner. Currie, stews, forced meats, omelets, and many other delicacies, tempted us to renew the attack, more particularly as the rajahs shared our repast, and frequently invited us to lay aside all modesty and eat as though in our own house. They are polite to their guests, and encourage, but never press, you to eat.

A chintz curtain across the house formed our sleeping-apartment; and my bed, or inclosure *par excellence*, was surrounded with another curtain. Soft mats and numerous pillows make a comfortable resting-place, when unassailed by musquitoes: and on this particular night we had every thing in great luxury.

April 2. *April* 2. — The town of Chinrana consists of about 180 houses, stands close on the left bank of the river, and is surrounded by groves of fruit-trees, chiefly cocoa-nuts, plantains, and mangoes; and the remains of brick mosques, and buildings, and wells, proclaim its former import-

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1840.

ance when it was the residence of the pata-mankowè. This circumstance, perhaps, gave rise to the mistake in the charts, which place Boni exactly where Chinrana stands. Its command of the river renders it a place of importance; and here duties are levied on all classes of vessels passing or repassing. The largest prahus pay as high as eighty reals, and the smallest canoe not more than one finam. These revenues, which must be considerable, belong to the rajah pangawa, and nominally are appropriated to defray the expenses of the war establishment.

At certain times of the year there is a considerable rise and fall of the river here; but at this season the water flows constantly down, the flood tide only checking the current of the stream. The ebb runs about three knots an hour; but its force depends entirely upon the quantity of rain which has fallen. In the S.E., or dry monsoon, the river is low, and the flood is stated to ascend as far as the village of Ujong. At Chinrana, the banks of the river are alluvial mud, with occasional patches of coral; and similar rocks are scattered over the vast grass plains which compose the sea-belt of the whole country.

A considerable market is held twice a-week; and provisions of all sorts in native use are both plentiful and cheap. Rice of a reddish colour is sold at three rupees and three and a half rupees a pikul*;

* Pikul, 133lb. avoirdupois.

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1840. sugar-cane is in abundance, as is also Indian corn: and vessels at the anchorage might here procure a supply of fowls, from fifteen to twenty for a dollar, according to size; and a few buffaloes.

Our long-boat having joined us from the vessel, we proceeded, after breakfast, in company with numerous native boats and canoes, up the river. The banks present the same pleasing and fertile aspect; and having with a light breeze stemmed the current for several miles, we turned off into the creek which leads to Unïi. Two or three miles up this narrow stream is the village of Ujongeh, of twelve houses; and farther up, the town of Unïi, of 100 houses, on the right bank; the latter stands on the plain, which is neatly cultivated; but the town itself appears poor and miserable. The hill of Mampo, flat-topped and covered with wood, is about two miles distant, and our expectations being raised, we were disappointed at being obliged to wait for the morrow. A restless night, tormented with musquitoes, was borne with great patience by us all, in the hope of what the morrow might bring forth.

April 3. *April* 3. — Our party was up early, and started in high spirits, but doubtful expectation, for the Hill of Mampo. A mob of 200 or 300 accompanied us, seizing this favourable opportunity of seeing what they had heard so much of. The town of Alupang stands on the hill side, consisting of seventy houses, and a short distance above it is the entrance of the cave. The first

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glimpse at the opening destroyed my hopes of finding any remains of an ancient religion within, the entrance was so perfectly natural, low, irregular, and dark. A further progress showed at once the justice of these fears; for the cave expands into a lofty hall, dropping with the fantastic forms of numerous stalactites. 1840.

The rest is soon told. Mampo cave is a production of nature, and the various halls and passages exhibit the multitude of beautiful forms with which nature adorns her works; pillars, and shafts, and fretwork, many of the most dazzling white, adorn the roofs or support them, and the ceaseless progress of the work is still going forward and presenting all figures in gradual formation. The top of the cave, here and there fallen in, gives gleams of the most picturesque light, whilst trees and creepers, growing from the fallen masses, shoot up to the level above, and add a charm to the scene. Yet was I greatly disappointed and enjoyed the sight less than I should otherwise have done.

These varied forms of stalactites the natives speak of as figures; a fallen pillar represents a rajah; and, by a like stretch of imagination, they call various stones, dogs, horses, ships, rice, looms, &c. Names arbitrarily enough bestowed, but which retain their particular designations, and produce their uniformity of statement when they speak of the figures they each have seen in the cave. Some parts of the cave are inclosed with

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1840. stones, and offerings of slight burning sticks, similar to those used in Chinese temples, are stuck round them. The path to these shrines is so well trodden, that they are evidently much frequented by the natives.

Amid this disappointment it was some compensation to discover that the hill of Mampo was entirely composed of coral rock, and that the stalactites are formed of the carbonate of lime, with minute particles of crystals intermixed. There is every reason to suppose that the excavations were, in times past, formed by the sea, and that Mampo Hill, now surrounded by the alluvial plain, was once what Palettè now is, both having antecedently been islands, and then points. Mampo is a remarkably flat-topped woody hill, about 400 feet high, and a prominent feature in the foreground after passing Tanjong Palettè. The eminences about it, and detached from the lower range, may be presumed to be of similar construction, and they mark well the recession of the sea from the mountains.

The hundreds of dark figures with flaming torches mingling their light with the streams of sunbeams from the roof — their yells and shouts as they entered the spacious halls, and the time — the clime — the spot — all produced a highly picturesque effect; yet I could not enjoy, though I admired; and my chief comfort was, that I might spare other travellers from being misled by the exaggerated, but consistent, account of the natives.

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1840.

The European imagination would deck this cave with all the semblance of a cathedral, with some slight approximation to the reality; they would see the shrines of saints or heroes—the Gothic arch — the groined roof — the supporting pillars.

The natives, from tradition as well as imagination, bestow on the varied shapes of stalactites the names of men, of beasts, or of birds. The halls of Alhambra are the nearest approach to the caves of nature's formation, and, we may suppose, they were first imitations of Nature's subterranean works.

The transition from the dim light and freshness of the cave into the bright glare of a tropical sun was very displeasing; and I felt glad, after an excursion of some hours, to return to our quarters at Unïi.

On the way back, Spence *, rashly changing horses with Dain Matara, was run away with, and got a severe fall, which deranged his head so much from the concussion that he could remember nothing. I was anxious about him; but a few hours' quiet brought him round, and his scattered wits returned. It was well his brains, instead of his wits, were not scattered; for the foolish fellow had made his sarong fast to the horse's bridle, in order to keep tight a number of specimens which he had collected in the cave; the sarong being round his own waist, it was a wonder he did not lose his life.

* One of the seamen.

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1840.
April 4.

April 4. — Off shortly after daylight, and got into the main river when the sun had been up half an hour. At a moderate distance above the junction on the left bank, is the village of Ujong, of ten houses, and some distance beyond the boundary of the Wajo and Boni countries, which is marked on the chart. Hence the right bank belongs to Wajo; the left, to Boni.

Proceeding onward, we reached the creek of Solo on the right, bordered by a hamlet of ten houses. The next village is Bolah, on the left bank, of ten houses; and a creek leads to a town of the same name, said to be as large as Tanchung. A considerable way further up, is the town of Pompanūa (the boundary of Boni, which here joins Pomana), attached to Wajo, but nearly independent of it. The datu Pomana is likewise the pata filla, one of the six chiefs of Wajo. The representative is at present an "old lady."

Pompanūa is a large town, and the principal place where the prahus lie up. It consists of about 600 houses, and appears to be flourishing. We here counted nineteen prahus, many of a large size, either on the river bank or in the creek which runs through the town. The distances of the various places were taken by Mr. Murray on our way up; but I am not able to give the account *in time*, as we have no watches with us! and with a current varying in force in the different reaches, there is little idea to be formed from a mere estimate in time.

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1840.

As far as Pompanūa, the banks of the river present a perfect garden bordered with fruit-trees, viz. the mango, plantain, cocoa-nut, jack-durien, &c., and numerous detached houses *or farms* are scattered along. There is much cultivation of rice and Indian corn behind the fringe of wood at the back of the grassy plain, and altogether the country wears an aspect of cheerfulness and comfort. The river seems clear as far as Pompanūa, and thus high it is navigable for craft of 150 or 200 tons. Beyond this it may be so likewise; but it seems doubtful, and, indeed, no advantage could accrue to a European vessel from going up the river, as the means of water carriage are plentiful. A short distance above Pompanūa, the old river discharges itself into the present stream. The efflux of this ancient branch has already been noticed in the voyage from Tesōra to Tempè. Nearly opposite the junction of the waters stands Tobako, of 100 houses, on the left bank, which now assumes a grassy character, the belt of fruit-trees not reaching above Pompanūa.

A short distance from Tobako, on the same side, is Kompiri, of 200 houses. A few prahus are laid up here, in one of which we rested our crew for an hour. We had before stopped for half an hour for breakfast. From Kompiri we towed, as long as the ground would allow, to the village of Balong, of ten houses, on the right bank, nearly opposite which is a branch called Wellungan, which rejoins the main stream below Lagusi. At the entrance

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1840. of the Wellungan, is a town of the same name, of sixty houses, and half a mile from thence is Nusĭ, of forty houses, both on the left side of the Wellungan.

The next town, at no great distance, is Lagusi, the approach to which is marked by gardens and fruit-trees. Off the town, the river divides into numerous branches, and the current is very strong. Lagusi is on the left bank, and is the capital of the rajah Pomana. The recession of the river from Tesōra has made Lagusi a place of great importance: it occupies a large space of ground, and has at least a thousand houses, being by far the most populous town I have seen in Bugisland.

The datu Lagusi or Pomana is a supporter of rajah Lappa Gnorisan in Si Dendring. Her power is great; and, united with Si Dendring, equal to that of the rest of Wajo. Opposite Lagusi is a narrow creek for canoes, which leads to the vicinity of Tesōra; but the channel would not admit the gig, and, though evening was closing on us, we had to advance up the river. The next town is Katena, on the left bank, containing, it is said, about sixty houses; and thence a good pull took us to Sabang, on the same side of the river, of seventy houses. Above Sabang we emerged from the main stream into the old river, just at dusk, and pulled on long after dark, groped our way through the Tesōra creek, and arrived at the datu lampola's house, about nine in the evening. The latter part of our voyage was very wet; and the entire pull from

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6 A.M. till 9 P.M., with only one hour and a half rest, was trying to the boat's crew. I cannot speak too highly of the Malays, they do hard work not only well, but so cheerfully, that it is a pleasure to see them. 1840.

April 5.—I found the datu in great distress, in consequence of a feud which had broken out between two of his chief supporters, namely, the rajahs Pajumparueh and Karain, the former the brother of the rundrang Tuwah, the latter the chief of Tempè. I have already mentioned the dissolute and vagabond habits of Karain's followers; and that their master encouraged them to plunder, and perhaps received some portions of the spoil. It appears, that one of his followers entered the house of Pajumparueh, and carried off property to the amount of 500 reals, consisting chiefly of gold-mounted spears, gold ciri and tobacco-boxes, with other ornaments and some money. A comrade, likewise in the following of Karain, from revenge informed Pajumparueh who had committed the robbery, and Karain was peremptorily required to restore the property, or make good the loss. His answer was, he knew nothing about it, and would not make the loss good. Both chiefs collected their followers, and a civil war was impending in the country. The arun Ujong joined Pajumparueh, and the datu, declaring his neutrality, was met with reproaches both by his nephew Ujong, and his brother-in-law, Karain. April 5.

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1840. Had this war commenced, it would, of course, have weakened his cause, both parties being, not only his supporters, but his relations. Under these circumstances, I resolved not to be the bearer of any letters to our government as they had requested; for the distracted chiefs know not what they want; and though Boni may be sincere in desiring a good understanding, the fluctuating councils of Wajo render it very doubtful. The appointment of an aru matoah, by restoring their original form of government, is the most likely measure to draw a strong party to a focus, steady their councils, and curb their chiefs; much, of course, will depend on the talent and activity of the person appointed. This, however, must be risked, and at any rate the shadow of an aru matoah is a rallying point for the pangawas and freemen, and gives a responsible head of the country. I resolved to make one push with the aru beting to induce him to appoint the chief magistrate, and accordingly waited on him. I was well supported by the pangawas, several hajjis, and the matoah of Tesōra; and after some converse and much flattery, persuaded him to promise before all, that there should positively be an aru matoah that very month. The feud between the chiefs was to be suppressed by the aru beting, the datu, and the pangawas, and, if requisite, to be subsequently decided, by the aru matoah. All this sounds well; but I have no assurance that the appointment will take place, as

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the aru beting is a weak old man, turned by every breath of council and every woman's will; yet there are those about him who may keep him to the point, for all the best and most respectable people are urgent on the occasion. 1840.

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CHAP. XI.

DEPARTURE FROM CHINRANA. — PRESENTS. — NATIVE TRADITION ON THE ORIGIN OF THE BAJOW RACE. — RESUME THE VOYAGE, AND SAIL ALONG THE COAST. — MAGNIFICENT SCENERY. — ANCIENT STATE OF LUWU. — RAVAGES OF THE SMALL-POX. — GOVERNMENT OF LUWU. — WILD TRIBES IN THE MOUNTAINS. — TRADE. — LANGUAGE. — DEPARTURE FROM LUWU. — COAST AND ISLANDS. — FEATURES OF THE COAST. — DANGEROUS REEFS.

1840. April 6. *April* 6.—LEFT Tesōra after breakfast, and dropped down the old stream which runs into the present river above Pompanūa. A short way below Tesōra creek on the left hand, is the village of Chillaèh, of five houses. Below, on the same side, Palisu, by account of eighty-six houses, the only two places on the old stream.

About four we re-arrived at Chinrana, and were treated in the same hospitable style as before.

April 7. *April* 7. — Leaving Chinrana, we issued by the Lowni entrance already described, and sailed round to the vessel. A detached sand-bank, with a few shrubs on it, lies off Point Lowni, but the channel on the inside is nearly dry at low water. The young rajah Dain Palawa came on board, and I underwent the usual talk; but I must here say I like this person, who, on acquaintance proves frank, pleasing, and kind. This is the *amende honorable*

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for having previously abused him. I made him a few presents, and was not sorry to see him sail off. 1840.

April 8. — At two in the morning came three boats laden with rice, a present from the rajah pangawa, besides some fowls, &c. Thirty pikul of rice, though acceptable, was more than I wanted; but, nevertheless, I kept it, as a *set-off* against the rifle I presented to the chief. At 4 A. M. sent Dain Matara to Bajuè for a Bajow pilot, and if possible to procure a loan of money. He returned at 4, bringing what I wanted, in the questionable shape of 12,000 pice in a huge bag. With him, too, came the laleran Bajow, and the pilot. The laleran was a sensible old man, and in reply to my questions respecting the traditionary accounts of the origin of the Bajow race, gave me the following history: — April 8.

The Bajow emigrated from the kingdom of Menangkabu, under the command of a young rajah, a relation of the royal family. Arriving in Bugis-land, they were hospitably received by the king of Goa, who assigned the young prince an island for his residence and kingdom. From him and his followers sprung the Bajow race; but their island being small, they soon betook themselves to their boats, and like their original princes, sought a home and riches on the sea. They have no distinct written characters, but use either the Malay or Bugis in their books of law and regulations, the language, however, being Bajow. I tried in vain to procure one of these books, as it

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1840. would be curious to obtain the maritime code of a maritime people — without a country, whose home is their prahu, and whose livelihood is gained by collecting the produce of the sea and shores of distant islands. We may presume that laws made to suit such a state of society would be peculiar.

The Bajow of Bugis are all under the command of one or other of three chiefs, called lollos, below these is the title of laleran.

In the evening I weighed anchor to be quite sure of getting clear of my Boni friends, and dropped it between Tanjong Lowni and Laboto.

April 9. *April* 9. — Under weigh, with a light breeze — calm in the middle of the day — under weigh again in the evening. Passed over our old ground, and anchored beyond point Akutaingan, opposite the small stream Kera, which is distinguished by a hillock in the foreground. The next point is Marasanga, between which and Akutaingan, the land forms a long bay. Akutaingan is an undefined point. To the northward of Kera the ground behind the mangrove belt becomes hilly.

April 10. *April* 10. — Tanjong Marasanga is low, and covered with light green trees. Beyond this is an extensive bay, within which are many minor ones. The first of these is Sewa, with a river near the point, leading to a considerable town. The next is Tanjong Sompano, then Tongaēh. A short distance beyond Kera is the boundary of Wajo, where the Boni territory extends once more nearly to Tongaēh, joining the Luwū boundary, at a hill

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with a peculiar notch, distinctly seen in sailing along. The scenery from Marasanga changes its character; the mangrove shore disappears, and is succeeded by wood, and a magnificent highland prospect — hill piled upon hill, with Latimojong crowning all. This day we made poor progress; the wind was light in the evening, and calm in the morning. There are shoals a moderate distance in the offing, which reach to Marasanga. Beyond that point the navigation is clear as far as we have gone, with deep water — thirty and thirty-five fathoms, two miles from shore — sixteen fathoms where we lie, one and a quarter off shore, and not far from Tanjong Tongaēh. 1840.

April 11. — Calm all the morning; the light breeze from the S.E. began to breathe about 11; by 12 it freshened, and we ran merrily along the coast. The point next to which we lay is Larompo; there are one or two more within the bay, but not of any importance. The outer point is called Jenemaijai (or red water) Point; it is low and green, a tongue of alluvial land shooting from the mountains. This large bay, it must be understood, is comprised between Marasanga and Jenemaijai; it does not run far in. The water is deep, and clear of all danger, save near the shore; the beach is woody, with noble mountains, a continuation of Latimojong, rising behind it. Off Jenemaijai the water is discoloured by a stream which discharges itself near the point whence it derives its name. A short sail brings you to another point, the name April 11.

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1840. of which I could not ascertain; from thence the land slopes to the westward, forming a bay terminated by Tanjong Buah, whence the land again slopes gradually westward to another point; near which is an island and an other bay, and within lies Palopo, the capital of Luwū. The wind died away at dusk, and we came to anchor in sixteen and a half fathoms, about two miles off shore.—Prospect magnificent.

April 14. *April* 14. — Luwū is the oldest Bugis state, and the most decayed. Its internal anarchy prevented my remaining long, or seeing the country; but the prospect from our anchorage, off Libukongèh, is not to be described. A narrow slip of alluvial soil lies at the foot ofthe mountains, and Palopo stands on the sea-shore, amid small streams. The mountains stretch away to the northward, and a spur branches to the eastward round the head of the bay, leaving a considerable plain. Off the points, which form the creek of Palopo, are three shoals plainly to be distinguished — the rest of the navigation is clear, and a vessel might lie well in with the island of Libukongèh. Nearly to the northward of Libukongèh is a green hill of some size, which, on rounding the far point, is the best leading mark for Palopo. We anchored a mile and a half from the island, and I despatched a boat instantly for provisions. Palopo is a miserable town, consisting of about 300 houses, scattered and dilapidated. The small-pox had succeeded the civil war, and was even more destructive to the popula-

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tion. The death of the late rajah, nearly two years since, left his sons to contest the succession. After a severe struggle they agreed upon a truce, and buried the old monarch; and, even now some hopes remain of a final accommodation between the parties. 1840.

The government of Luwū is more simply despotic than either Wajo or Boni. The monarch is styled pajungèh, with whom are the patunru *, pabechara, tomarilalan, and balironti. The title of the high nobility is "offu," tantamount to the term pata in the other countries. The two claimants to the throne are the youngest son of the late pajungèh, and his sister, the wife of the offu patunru. It is difficult to believe that Luwū could ever have been a powerful state, except in a very low stage of native civilisation. The situation is entirely mountainous, and the lowlands are not extensive enough to support a large population. The hills are peopled by wild tribes, and the depth of the bay prevents the facility of communication with other parts of the Archipelago. Ancient Luwū, however, embraced, according to Sir Stamford Raffles, the country to Chinrana, including the left bank of the Welluna. It is probable; but where, then, was Wajo? The dialect is distinct, both from that of Goa and Boni.

The entire country is wretchedly poor, and both rice and salt are transported from Boni or Makassar.

* Father of Council.

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1840. The trade with the head of the bay is carried on in small prahus, and the returns are principally wax. The Turajah, who inhabit the hills, are undoubtedly the original inhabitants of Bugis; and in dress, or rather no dress, bear a resemblance to the Dyaks of Borneo. They are not converted to Islam, and are said to seek heads on the occasion of a great chief's death, but not to keep them in their houses. I saw about twenty of them in the market-place at Palopo, but they spoke no Bugis, and were very shy and frightened. In feature and appearance they differed nothing from the Bugis. Their principal country is represented to be Bada, an independent state, where they are both numerous and powerful. Bada, however, is at a considerable distance from Luwū.

The tribe of Balusa are within two days' journey, and others, scattered nearer, are under the dominion of the Bugis. Those I saw bore marks of great poverty, and had brought down small quantities of paddy for sale, from the produce of which they buy salt and other necessaries. An intelligent native told me their language somewhat resembled that of Goa; and, from the few words I heard them speak, I thought it soft and pleasing. They have no written characters. I stayed at Luwū from the morning of the 12th to the morning of the 16th, and then quitted it with a light breeze. A moderate supply of provisions may be procured, chiefly fowls, at from twenty to thirty the dollar. Wood

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and water are plentiful, and more conveniently to be got than elsewhere in the bay. 1840.

April 16.—Leaving Luwū, we stood close hauled, with a light breeze, along the shore, which is low, but with deep water, and only one shoal, which we saw. Passing several inferior points, we anchored near the more prominent one of Chappa Salo, with a river of that name; there is likewise a town up the stream. April 16.

April 17. — A night of rain, thunder, and lightning — the morning clear, with a light air off shore, and we were enabled to get a beautiful view of the mountains which from Luwū run to the northward a short distance, and then curve with the bay to the north-east. The space between the sea and mountain is of the same character as heretofore, viz. low ground fringed with mangrove, and intersected by numerous streams. The bay from Palopo runs about north-east to east. We sailed some way along the shore, passing several rivers and points, and at night anchored in thirteen and a half fathoms water. April 17.

April 18. — Got under weigh, and stood along shore till well abreast of a magnificent mountain, which is as high, or nearly so, as Lumpu Batang, and protrudes in front of the amphitheatre which encircles the head of the bay. We were in search of a place called Wotu; but when about coming to an anchor, our Bajow pilot was obliged to confess he did not rightly know where it was. April 18.

Getting under sail again, with a very light breeze,

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1840. we saw a canoe which had come off from the Offu Undri Guru at Burow; and understanding they had some provisions, of which we were greatly in want, came to an anchor at 1 P. M., and sent off our long boat. I may state that between Chappa Salo and Burow are the river and town of Low-wo, and beyond Burow lies Watto, called in the charts Wattoèh Wenua, the country of Watto. The site of Low-wo is not ascertained, and other towns of equal size exist, of which we are necessarily ignorant.

April 19. *April* 19. — The boat returned late from Burow, bringing a buffalo, three goats, and a fowl, in exchange for a few articles of British manufacture. Another buffalo was likewise promised at the same price, if we would send to-morrow. Burow is situated about a mile up the small stream, and consists of about 100 houses — country low, jungle, and hardly any cultivation. Mr. Murray was despatched in the gig, to go round the head of the bay, and lay it down; at night he returned, having completed his task: he found the shores low, covered with mangroves, and numerous rivers, some of large size; but there is no outlet this way by the sea, which I conceived might possibly be the case. At the head of the bay lie the town and river of Usu, the latter has, by the native accounts, seven mouths. The head of the bay is, as may be perceived by reference to the chart, narrow and wedge-shaped. The eastern shore, however, is entirely distinct in character, being bold, and

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abrupt, whilst the northern is separated from the mountains by the alluvial plain so often referred to. 1840.

I may here mention that the natives gave me the following names for the high mountain, near which we are anchored: — 1st, Wowwindrè; 2d, Koria; 3d, Tampoki; these probably refer to different peaks, or portions of it. Tampoki is, I believe, the highest peak.

April 20. — Crossed over to the eastern bank, and made it out to be an island, called Pulo Paloèh (or separated mountain), which is bold and wooded, being divided from the main by a moderate channel. Tradition says Sawira Gading anchored on the coast; and cutting down a tree, it fell and divided this island from the shore. April 20.

Beyond Pulo Paloèh is Tanjong Lawakè, which forms a deep bay, with other bights and points within. We came to anchor off a headland, lying near the mouth of one of the coves, which I visited; the situation is easily discovered by some reddish white cliffs which form the eastern side of the entrance. The western opening has a coral reef stretching off it; within the cove are numerous islands of fantastic and irregular shapes, and coral reefs, with deep water between them. The scenery is most picturesque, as, indeed, it is all along the coast — bold wood-covered hills, with high mountains behind — bays, and valleys, and islands, and the bluest water. Where we anchored, less than half a mile from the shore, there were twenty-three fathoms, stiff clay bottom. The point beyond our

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1840. anchorage is called Lelewawo, and with Lawakè forms the bay.

April 21. *April* 21. — Calm and light breeze. Passed Lelewawo with an island off it, within which is a stream and town of the same name, and anchored at night in twenty-three fathoms water, three quarters of a mile off shore.

April 22. *April* 22. — Continued calms and light airs. Passed the prominent point of Susua. Beyond Susua are other bold headlands, two of which are named Libnandala and Labekara. The former is the next, or next but one from Susua — the latter the fourth point; but I cannot speak with any certainty. This evening, off these promontories we found no anchorage, and had to lie-to all night; running along shore shortly after dark, the coast appearing very bold, we passed suddenly into fifteen and then eight fathoms; deepened again to fifteen —forty-five, and no bottom at fifty fathoms. This reef is off the next point to Susua, and we were advertised of its proximity by the smell of decomposed matter that came from it. After this I ran back a short distance to the ground we had passed over, and lay-to. Towards evening it fell calm, however, and we drifted to the southward, within a mile of another reef.

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CHAP. XII.

CHANGES IN THE ASPECT OF THE COAST SHOALS. — MINKOKA DISTRICT AND TRIBE. — LANGUAGE OF THE MINKOKAS — THEIR MANNERS AND RELIGION — STATURE AND COSTUME — RESEMBLANCE TO THE DYAKS. — LEAVE-TAKING AND FUNERAL FEASTS. — SUPERSTITIONS OF THE INLAND TRIBES. — TRADING HABITS. — CHEAPNESS OF COMMODITIES. — DESCEND THE COAST. — CHARACTER OF THE SCENERY. — SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS. BONTHIAN. — SAMARANG ROADSTEAD. — SINGAPORE.

April 23. — AFTER an anxious night, made sail and saw the reef before mentioned and many others both within and without: the channel, however, is good in clear weather. The mountain region gradually smooths down after running some distance along the bold coast, and slight strips of alluvial plain again intervene here and there between the highlands and the sea. Shoals numerous and far out, some very large, are reported along the coast beyond Labekara. 1840. April 23.

The direction of the coast is south east: the next prominent point, with two islands near it, is called Tumboli: a shoal or two is in the vicinity, easily discernible. The land from Tumboli sinks into a deep bay, across the mouth of which is a cluster of islands, the largest called Padamarungèh: we steered in for the inner point, and came to an anchor in the bay in nineteen fathoms, soft bottom.

April 24. — Passed between the island of Padamarungèh and a low point of the main, called April 24.

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1840. Ajuaringèh. The channel is clear away from the shore. Steering nearly east across the next bay, looking for Minkoka, we found it filled with shoals, and bore away E. by N. and E. N. E., finally bringing up at an excellent anchorage off the river Pondui, in twelve fathoms.

I now discovered that Minkoka is the name of a district and tribe, as well as of a small river in this bay. Pondui has about ten or fifteen straggling houses, chiefly belonging to Bugis residents; but the Minkoka people live scattered along the coast, and in the interior near Pondui is the village of Kalaka, inhabited by them, and not far removed is the Bajow Kampong of Pasuloi.

The country is attractive and partially cleared: the high mountains sink to wood-covered hills of moderate size; with intervening valleys, and a strip of alluvial plain on the sea shore. The population, as I have said, is scattered, and consists chiefly of Minkoka people, with some Bugis and Bajow settlers and traders. The greater part of the bay is choked with shoals; and coming into it, as mentioned, vessels should keep along the shore of the main, after clearing the channel between Ajuaringèh and the island; giving it, however, a sufficient offing, and looking out for shoals, as one or two are to be passed.

April 25. *April* 25. — I was most anxious to procure provisions at this place, as I began to fear our stock of salt meat would not last, *even* to *Samārang*. It has, indeed, been a great drawback, for the latter part of

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this cruise, to be forced to look to the country for our supplies; and here they have altogether failed us, as far as I can see at present. A boat I despatched to Pansuloi returned unsuccessful, and the neighbouring villages only yielded one goat and a few fowls. 1840.

I was enabled during the day to see two or three Minkoka people, and to make a vocabulary of their language, which bears some affinity to the dialects of the Battas and Rejangs of Sumatra.

April 26. — Procured one buffalo, the promise of a second, a goat, and some fowls. Numbers of the Minkokas visited us, and gave me an opportunity of inquiring into their habits and manners, and correcting my vocabulary from some of their superior people. These people may generally be stated to inhabit the bays between Tanjong Tamboli, and Tanjong Okoko, and the interior mountains. To the eastward they are bounded by a tribe called Rumbia, whose country stretches to the eastern shores of Celebes, and with whom they occasionally wage wars. April 26.

It is necessary, however, to divide the Minkokas into two, or even more communities, namely, the people inhabiting the coasts, and those in the mountains. The former have in some measure been *civilised* by their intercourse with the Bugis and Bajow people, and have nominally adopted the religion of Islam, without, however, rejecting their own barbarous customs and habits. Indeed, their

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1840. religion seems to consist in little more than rejecting the use of pork. Their language, as I have said, bears some affinity to the dialect of Sumatra, as likewise to the Malay and Bugis: in short, it is of the common stock.

In personal appearance they resemble the Bugis: they are well made, but of low stature, and clean limbed, and clothed in the short trowsers, and some with the sarong. They wear the hair long, rarely have a covering on the head, and their arms are ornamented with rings of plaited bamboo or straw, and carved shells. These ornaments, however, are by no means common, and are chiefly confined to the few who lived a short distance in the interior.

The kris is rare amongst them, and evidently adopted from their neighbours; but they carry a short sword, usually ornamented with a tuft of human hair at the handle. The sumpitan is in use, the arrows of which are poisoned, and they have likewise spears and long swords. It would be curious to inquire how far these people resemble the Dyaks of Borneo, with whom most writers have classed them, marking at the same time how far they differ from them, and how far the Dyak tribes differ amongst themselves. I may say then briefly, that in personal appearance there is no marked difference from those I have seen on the west coast of Borneo, and that their weapons, especially the sumpitan and short sword, are the same, or nearly so. The ornaments of human hair are common to both.

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In that peculiar and *striking* custom of taking heads they also resemble. In Borneo with the Kyans, and in Celebes with the Minkokas, this custom seems limited to funeral or festive occasions, more especially on the death of their rajah or chief. 1840.

When this occurs here, they sally forth with a white band across their forehead, to notify their object, and destroy alike their enemies and strangers. Their depredations are stated to be carried on chiefly in the Rumbia country, the people of which retaliate in kind, on the demise of their chief; but the Bugis and Bajow settlers assured me they had no apprehension on their own account, as they never attacked people they knew had settled in their country. From twenty to forty heads, according to the rank of the deceased rajah, being procured, buffaloes are killed, rice boiled, and a solemn funeral feast is held, and whatever time may elapse, the body is not previously buried. The heads on being cleaned, are hung up in the houses of the three principal persons of the tribe, and regarded with great veneration and respect. It is not necessary, as with the Dyaks, to procure a skull previous to marriage; nor, except on the occasions mentioned and during war, do they take any heads.

The Minkoka people marry only one wife. They live divided in small communities, and their houses have no resemblance to those of the Dyaks, being mere common-sized huts. The chief of the people

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1840. on the sea shore reside at Pandokolo, an hour's journey, or two, from the Bajow Kampong.

The interior tribes acknowledge other chiefs, and are, as I have said, less civilised than those I had principally an opportunity of seeing: they are represented as wearing the bark of trees round their loins. Some of this bark cloth I procured from them: it is neatly manufactured, whilst the armlets of split bamboo are so finely worked, that they would do credit to a European artisan.

The religion of these people I had little opportunity of inquiring about. The inhabitants of the coast, professing Mahomedanism, worship particular trees or stones painted red, and make their offerings at those shrines, much after the fashion of the Bugis themselves, who are superstitiously inclined. The Bugis assured me they were not given to stealing, and were to be trusted by their friends, and a good character from them goes a long way, as they are little inclined to speak highly of a wild tribe, whom they evidently consider a very inferior class.

The Minkokas are keen barterers; numbers of canoes came off to us with various commodities. Amongst these were sago, wax, cocoa-nuts, arms, ornaments, fowls, mats, &c. which they freely gave for cotton handkerchiefs and bottles: pickle and mustard bottles they preferred; and for one of the former either a large or two small fowls were given. The wax is of excellent quality, and may be had in considerable quantities. The Bugis told me it stood them in twelve or fifteen dollars' worth of

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goods a pikul, but that the collection was tedious and annoying. This same wax sells in Singapore from thirty-two to thirty-five dollars a pikul, which is fine profit, and would justify some extra exertion of patience. I procured as a sample two pounds and a half of wax for a red cotton handkerchief (worth, say eight-pence, which price would bear out the Bugis statement). Sago may be had for a song — two cotton handkerchiefs of superior quality (worth, say two shillings), bought sixty pounds of sago, and no doubt would have purchased more had I been a bargainer, as I ought to be, and as other folks are. 1840.

Indeed the Minkoka people behaved very well and civilly, more especially respecting the provisions, of which I now find I may have any quantity. Cocoa-nuts sold from seventy to one hundred for a small red cotton handkerchief.

April 27.—It was a perfect fair on board all this morning, bartering for goods; and all seemed well pleased with their exchanges. We added a second buffalo to our stock, which we got for a musket and six yards of white cloth. At length, a breeze springing up, our anchor was weighed, and I bade adieu to Minkoka, which I would willingly have seen more of, had it been in my power. April 27.

April 28. — Beating all day to windward with a light breeze and opposing current, anchored in the evening inside the first island, having thus retraced our path from Pondui. There is a passage from thence amongst the reefs out by Okoko, which is the bluff point seen from the anchorage; April 28.

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1840. but this passage is reported to be intricate and difficult being full of shoals on either hand. Having no pilot, I conceived it best to run out the way we came in, as it did not seem quite sure that we could go out the other way, and, at any rate, not without a fair wind. A ship entering this bay by Okoko ought to take the greatest care and previously examine the passage; for, as far as I could see, it appeared a mass of shoals. Thirty reefs and upwards were counted from the mast-head as we came into the bay, lying between us and the eastern shore.

April 29. *April* 29. — My birthday; but let that pass, as I am too old to take much delight in its recurrence. A very light breeze during the day carried us off Tanjong Okoko, then a dead calm till ten at night, between which time and four I ventured to run down the coast, on the report of the Bugis.

April 30. *April* 30. — Daylight saw us off a point not very prominent. The country about Minkoka I have described as subsiding from the lofty range to peaceful hill and vale. The shore, running about S.S.E., becomes low, with a few slight eminences in the background. Beyond Point Daylight, or Chappatanai, the coast trends away further to the eastward, and grows somewhat more bold. Kobina was in sight, and nearer to us the small bushy and sandy island of Bassa.

As far as the point, which I have called Point Daylight, the coast is clear of shoals at a distance of about four miles; but beyond it is a large reef, several miles in extent, which must be looked care-

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fully for. A passage, in all probability, exists between the reef and the shore. We, however, passed outside, and then through the channel between this reef and the reef around Pulo Bassa, where we lay-to, and Mr. M. and myself went in the gig for sights. A heavy squall was approaching; and the Royalist lying-to between these reefs with clear green waters in the front, and the black thunder cloud in the background, formed a lively picture, now backing, now filling, and hovering at the edge of the reef, like a water-bird. 1840.

Pulo Bassa is a low small island, recently arisen from the reef, and fast extending; it has, as usual, some beautiful green trees, and exquisitely dazzling sand. The reef is composed of this substance mixed with masses of grey sandstone, and encircles the island, extending a long way out to the south westward. We managed to get sights, not quite such good ones as I could desire, and the squall being over, sailed off to the vessel, which had run to leeward on purpose to meet us.

Made sail, and saw another small patch, a long way out to the southward of Pulo Bassa. This concludes the survey of the bay, which I am rejoiced at; and now we are running with a fine breeze across to Tanjong Berak.

May 4. — Off Salaya. Extremely bad fortune; a very adverse conjunction of the planets prevents our advance. First two days dead calm off Kobina, then foul wind and contrary currents. The straits of Salaya are called Limbangan by the Bugis. It May 4.

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1840. is to be regretted that the Mansfield and Amboyna banks, and other reputed dangers, are not examined. I would do it, but have no provisions.

We beat through the longer passage between Salaya and Middle Island; but it requires a stiff breeze and smart vessel, for the current is strong. In doing so we towed our long boat under water, and nearly lost her. This accident delayed us some time, and at dusk, when standing in with a five-knot breeze for Boele Kompa, we were taken flat aback by a land wind. About seven, it falling calm, we anchored off the conical mountain, about five or six miles from shore, in fifteen fathoms. A heavy swell from the southward kept us rolling deep all night. The Amboyna shoal I did not see, though we passed within a mile and a half of it.

May 5. *May* 5. — Light contrary wind: all day getting to Bonthian: anchored at 7 o'clock in the road-stead.

May 8. *May* 8. — Sailed in the evening, after procuring as much provisions as the place afforded and we could purchase, but withal inadequate to carry us to Singapore, unless we have a quick passage. I may here mention that our distress has been considerable for some time, having been in want of grog, biscuits, and vegetables, and our salt meat having run so low, that a few days' supply only remains. Luxuries, such as wine, sugar, coffee, &c. have been long strangers on board.

Now we comparatively revel in good things; coffee, arrack, sugar, and potatoes, with pigs and

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sheep, have been found at Bonthian. I regretted this the more, because, had my orders been punctually obeyed, we should not have failed in supplies so early as we did; and I take the blame greatly on myself, in not seeing and knowing that stock had been laid in for four months. However, let it pass: the remembrance of these things soon dies from the mind of sailors, so I will not allow their complaints at the time to dwell on my mind. 1840.

Eight days, with very light winds, took us from Bonthian to Samārang, whither I was compelled to go for provisions. My first application to Mr. M^c^Neil for money proving successful, we were enabled to lay in a store of necessaries and luxuries. Mr. M^c^Neil evinced all the liberality of a British merchant, with the well-bred hospitality of a gentleman. I stayed with him part of Saturday, all Sunday, and Monday morning; and I may well say I parted with regret from an agreeable companion and the comforts of civilised life.

Whilst we lay here the Lord Eldon came in, from Sydney. Mr. M. of Southampton was a passenger in her; and having known the Royalist of old, quite revived my yachting recollections, with recitals of the feats done at Cowes, the cups run for, the matches made, or to be made, the vessels built, or building, sold or bought.

The roadstead of Samārang is a fair one in the easterly monsoon, but quite exposed in the westerly. Samārang is a cheerful and pleasing town, with trees and a river truly Dutch. The houses are

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1840. substantial and good. The people were very civil to me, and the government officers showed me every attention, though they made me pay the port charges, which I of course submitted to, but referred to the governor at Batavia.

From Samarang to the entrance of Banca Straits there was a very strong westerly set. Steering N.W. by N. we only made good a N. W. by W. course. At the entrance of Banca we encountered a squall, accompanied with thick weather, and anchored. The night was miserable, and I never remember a heavier rain: it was an unceasing deluge. After breakfast, it having cleared a little, we got under weigh, in company with two other vessels, and have now entered the straits, having passed First Point.

I may here close the journal of a six months' cruise to the Bugis land; and, reviewing the past, I have fair occasion to be satisfied. Some cares and troubles I have had, which arose from not carrying a sufficient store of those luxuries, bread and grog. Indeed, I blame myself for not having been more particular on this score, and it has been a lesson, I trust, for the future. I am always more willing to take a cheerful than a melancholy view, and cares past sit very lightly on my mind. If some of my crew, who have been four years with me, are sickened of the voyage, and leave at Singapore, I have the satisfaction of having distinguished dross from gold, and separated chaff from corn. If some are like the seed in thorny places, others resemble that which has fallen on good ground, and have

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proved themselves of sterling metal; and if it mortifies me to find men perform less than they have promised, it is even more pleasing to distinguish the good from the indifferent. 1840.

I have often asked myself the question whether, in the same time, I might not have done more, and as well. On reflection, I can answer it satisfactorily in the negative. I might have gone over more ground, but without gaining that intimate knowledge of the Bugis countries which I now have. It was information which could be acquired but slowly, and the jealousy of Boni caused much delay.

Perhaps it is not saying too much when I assert, that the removal of this jealousy was due to others as well as to myself, and that those who follow me, though at a long interval, will benefit by my patience and moderation. However, though I am clearly of opinion that I ought to limit my ambition, and to perform a moderate task well, rather than run cursorily over a large space of ground, and content myself with the outside of countries, yet I plead guilty of not having distributed my time so well as I might have done. Luwu and Minkoka should have occupied a greater portion of it; but it may be urged in extenuation that I should have lost Boni, and that the former country was in a very dangerous and unsettled state.

The early voyagers described new regions and new people. The fault of modern voyagers is trying to do the same when there is no field for it. They are consequently failures, or nearly so The ancient

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1840. mariners sketched for us. We have to colour their pictures in a rational and sober manner, here and there filling up what they have omitted. Our chart of this voyage comprises from Bonthian to Amboyna shoal, including the Bay of Boni (which, *en passant*, I may say, it would take another year to finish). We have gained the summit of Lumpu Batang never before reached, and from its barometric admeasurement can estimate the approximate height of the neighbouring mountains of Latimojong, Tampoki, and Sasua. The Bugis country, included between the mountain range extending from Lumpu Batang to Latimojong, has been laid down with more or less accuracy. With the country of Wajo we have become more or less acquainted, with its rivers, towns, lakes, and boundaries; we have lived amongst the people and shared their amusements. Their habits, manners, mode of life, and constitution, will be found minutely detailed; their present political condition, and gradual decomposition, may arrest pity and excite sympathy. Luwu is at best but a mountainous country, torn and distracted, and inhabited by a poorer and worse people than the other states. The opposite coast, remarkable for its grandeur, is peopled by wild tribes, with whom we communicated, and whose language was taken down.

I close for want of room, not of matter. Ran through Rhio Straits at night, and reached Singapore on the 27th of May, exactly one year since I first anchored here.

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1840.

Captain Mundy's Narrative.

Mr. Brooke remained at Singapore a few months to refit his vessel, and endeavour to recruit his health. He sailed on his second visit to Sarāwak early in August, 1840, and at the end of the month anchored off that land, hereafter destined to be the country of his adoption. His proceedings will be found in his own Journal.

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CHAP. XIII.

ARRIVE AGAIN AT SARĀWAK. — CORDIALLY RECEIVED BY MUDA HASSIM. — DISTRACTED CONDITION OF BORNEO. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SARĀWAK. — PANGERAN BUDRUDEEN. — DESCRIPTION OF BORNEO: — ITS RECENT HISTORY — STRUGGLES, PLOTS, AND MASSACRES — DEATH OF RAJAH API. — ELEVATION OF MUDA HASSIM. — INCURABLE DEFECTS OF MALAY GOVERNMENTS.

1840. December. Mr. Brooke's Journal.

I ARRIVED once again at Sarāwak, on the 29th of August, 1840, and am now writing at the close of the year, the intervening months having been replete with events of considerable importance to myself individually, and to the country generally. On my first arrival I was sick, languid, and disabled, and I never felt more reluctance on entering upon an active life than at that moment; but gradually my strength improved and my spirits rose, and I felt prepared to struggle against the dangers and difficulties which surrounded me. The Rajah Muda Hassim gave me a cordial reception, and the chiefs and people appeared united in their expressions of joy at seeing me again; but no progress had been made in the suppression of the rebellion; on the contrary, it raged with greater violence, and armed tribes of Dyaks were assembled on several points within thirty miles of the town.

The continued distracted condition of the country, with no probability of any termination of a state of affairs so adverse to every object which I

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Morrison del. C Hawkins lith.

London J Murray 1 Albemarle St 1848.

Day & Son Lith.r to the Queen

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had in view, decided me on quitting the scene and returning to Singapore; but on mentioning my intention to the rajah he presented such a picture of distress, and was so earnest in his prayers to me to remain yet a little while, that, though twice on the eve of dropping down the river, I as often yielded to his entreaties, and finally consented to proceed myself to the seat of operations, and endeavour, by my presence and counsel, to induce the belligerents to come to terms of accommodation. I set out about the middle of November on my last expedition, previous to which the rajah, in order to ensure my zealous co-operation in the cause of the sultan, had offered to make over to me the government of Sarāwak, with its revenues and trade. This bait was a very tempting one, but with my private resources at the present moment, its termination would have been doubtful. It was agreed, however, that negotiations on the subject should be renewed when I returned in the following year. I believe that the rajah was sincere; and at any rate it would have been ungenerous in me to have come to any decision in the affirmative when I knew his distress, but was ignorant of his real feelings. For on any happy change in his position, contracts and documents would have been so much waste paper; whereas, by appealing to his best feelings, and acting with generosity, he was more likely to take a personal interest in my nomination, and to procure the signature of the sultan. 1840.

All is uncertainty; but when the proper time

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1840. arrives the game will be worth playing. It is, in fact, an offer which I will not actually refuse; but some reflection is necessary, and further insight into Borneo politics indispensable. It was at the seat of war, and in front of the enemy's position, that I first became acquainted with Pangeran Budrudeen, the Rajah Muda Hassim's brother, whose overawing and stately demeanour seemed to have great effect on the mixed army under his command. To my recommendation of vigorous hostilities Budrudeen readily agreed, and from this moment the campaign assumed a new feature; the indolent chiefs showed signs of activity, guns were advanced, forts erected, and, after a series of skirmishes with varied success, and small loss on either side, the enemy at length advanced beyond the protection of their stockade into the open field. A glance showed me the advantage their mistake had given us; and profiting by it, I charged quickly across the paddi fields with my detachment of Englishmen, twelve in number, followed by *one* Illanun, named Si Tunda, and by the rest of the natives, at a respectful distance. The manœuvre was completely successful: the rebels were routed, and victory complete. Several forts were captured, the remnant of the rebel army became dispirited; and in a few days a treaty was signed, and the rebellion at an end. *

Here ends my narrative; and I now proceed to

* The history of this civil war is related at length in Capt. Keppel's work, to which the reader is referred; and in this and succeeding chapters extracts are made from those portions of the journals which

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1840.

a far more interesting subject,— the description of Borneo, with the observations I have been able to make in Sarāwak and its vicinity, and on the manners and customs of many of the principal tribes of Dyaks.

The island of Borneo measures at its extreme length nine hundred miles, at its greatest breadth seven hundred, and in circumference six thousand. With the exception of Australia, it is the largest island known. Occupying a central situation in the eastern Archipelago, in the direct track of an extensive and valuable commerce, intersected on all sides by navigable rivers, possessing one of the richest soils of the globe, a healthy climate, which, though hot, is tempered by refreshing sea breezes, and abounding in mineral treasures,—it is a country eminently favoured with the choicest gifts of Providence, and well adapted for the support of a numerous and happy population.

Borneo Proper, or, more correctly, Bruné, the capital city, is built partly on an island and partly on the main land, about fifteen miles up the river; to which there are many entrances, none of them as yet accurately surveyed.

We have so many varying accounts of Bruné, that they are only to be reconciled on the supposition that the city undergoes great changes, accord-

have never before been published, and from private letters; whilst the connecting links have been gathered from conversations held with Mr. Brooke himself, both at Sarāwak and since his return to England. — ED.

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1840. ing to the goodness or otherwise of the existing government; and, when we consider the fragile nature of Malay habitations, we can readily account for the facility of removal of the inhabitants. An eye-witness has given the population of Brunéat a hundred thousand. Leyden states it at four thousand houses, or about forty thousand inhabitants; others, again, less. Mr. Jesse, who had the best opportunity for many years, does not mention the amount of population. The eye-witness is a Mr. ——, an Armenian gentleman, who lived there three years, and ought to know something about it; and I can only account for his statement on the supposition that he includes all the people of the hills, or, as they are correctly called, Kadyans. At the time I write this, I understand that, of the large number of Chinese who formerly dwelt in the city, *two* Chinese bred natives alone remain. The country is misgoverned, provisions scarce and dear, and fish only to be obtained in small quantities, whilst rice is imported from other provinces. The Kadyans (Hill people) and Muruts (Dyaks) refusing intercourse with each other; in fact, it is a weak and wicked town, starving from misrule in the midst of plenty. The climate is represented to be cool, pleasant, and fine, and the country agreeable and picturesque. The Kadyans are Mohammedans, the Muruts, Dyaks, under another name. It is almost impossible to obtain correct information relative to the early sovereigns of Borneo Proper; but the

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kingdom is known to be of considerable antiquity, and is alluded to in the annals of Malacca as an independent and proud state. Dalrymple observes, that in ancient times the Bornean empire extended not only over the whole of the great island, but also over the Phillippines; but I am unable to obtain any traces of such dominion. In 1775, the trade was considerable between Bruné and China, particularly the port of Amoy. The return cargoes procured by the Chinese were camphor, tortoise-shell, sandal-wood, clove bark, birds' nests, and trepang; and the English, at this period, dealt in piece goods to a small extent, receiving in exchange gold dust and black pepper. All accounts I have as yet been enabled to examine agree in this statement, that Borneo contains several magnificent rivers, which, if ever the people should reach a more civilised state, will become of great advantage to commercial and agricultural pursuits. 1840.

The mineral kingdom produces gold, diamonds, antimony ore, zinc, tin, and iron.

Of land animals there exist the elephant, rhinoceros, a species of leopard, the bear, horse, buffalo, ox, hog, goats, dog, cat, deer, common fowl and duck. The first three animals, however, are only found in a single corner of this vast island,—its northern peninsular extremity; nor do they occur in any country in the Archipelago to the eastward of this longitude.

The horse, dog, and goat are naturalised and

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1840. domesticated strangers; the first being still confined to the districts of Pandāsan and Tampāsuk.*

The orang-outang, and apes and monkeys of nearly every tribe, abound in the interior; and of that particular species which in external form approaches nearest of all the animal creation to the human figure, Borneo presents the greatest variety. The seas afford the tortoise, pearl-oyster, and esculent sea-slug. The productions of a vegetable nature are rice, sago, black pepper, camphor, cinnamon, bees' wax, and useful and ornamental woods.

The Borneans have never formed any European alliance, except with us; and when the Sulus, half a century ago, treacherously drove our settlers from Balambangan, with a loss of property amounting to nearly half a million sterling, it was this people who afforded us an asylum, and who proffered us a settlement on the Brunē river, and on the island of Labuan, which we accepted for a season; but Europeans have now, for a number of years, forborne to visit Borneo on account of its violent and anarchical government. The above short description is taken from a paper written at Singapore in 1821, and I am not aware of any information of a later date.

Of the manners, habits, and customs of the various inhabitants, very little seems to be known; and I have seen no detailed account since the pub-

* The pirate chiefs were mounted on horseback when these Illanun towns were captured and destroyed by the squadron in August, 1846.

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lication of Mr. Hunt's voyage along the coast in 1812. It will therefore be my object to call before me, as opportunity offers, such chiefs, or other intelligent natives, as may visit Sarāwak, and carefully take down the information they may give me. Many have already contributed to the stock of history previously obtained from the Rajah and his followers, and I will now endeavour to put it into some form, and commence with a brief account of the reign of the last sultan of Borneo, and the present one, Omar Ali-Sapudin, his son, including the administration of Pangeran Mohammed, the Rajah Muda Hassim's father, who was Degadon, and of Rajah Api, and Muda Hassim. The constitution of Borneo consists of a Sultan, with four great officers of state, viz. Bandahara, the Degadon, the Pamancha, and the Tumangong; the former two being very superior to the latter two. The late sultan, by name Jamalal Alum, was married to Nur Alum, the eldest daughter of Mohammed Kanzul Alum, the Degadon, by whom he had only one son, the present Sultan Omar Ali, and thus Rajah Api and Muda Hassim, being brothers to the wife of the Sultan Jamalal Alum, stood in relation of uncles to the present sultan. On the death of Sultan Jamalal Alum, about thirty years ago, the present sovereign was a child, and consequently the chief power fell into the hands of his grandfather the Degadon and his uncle Rajah Api. 1840.

Of the reign of Jamalal Alum I can only collect that it was short, and that the kingdom was in a state

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1840. of comparative quiet and prosperity. On his death, the Pangeran, Mohammed Kanzul Alum, desired to set aside his grandson, and raise his son, Rajah Api, to the throne; but this measure being strongly opposed by his daughter, the mother of Omar-Ali, it failed of being successful, and produced a strange effect on the administration, which continues up to the present day. The laws of succession, it is well known, are neither strictly laid down nor adhered to among Asiatics; and though the Degadon retained the substantial power of governing, he was unable to set aside the *claims* of Omar-Ali, though, when the latter became of the required age to have been declared "Iang de per Tuan," he was powerful enough to prevent his either assuming the title, or being proclaimed as the sovereign. The power of both parties being at this time nearly equal, it seems to have been agreed that each should leave the country quiet, — an arrangement which was carried into effect; and during the short period which elapsed before the death of Pangeran Mohammed, Brunè was left without a legal or recognised government. Omar-Ali next fell into the hands of Rajah Api, and though he was immediately declared Sultan, it was with diminished power. Rajah Api not having filled up the office of Degadon, but holding in his own person the two principal offices in the state, his power was very greatly increased.

Thus the world was presented with the spectacle of a government without any real head; whilst those who acted only held their place by the force of

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custom. The rule of Rajah Api is represented as having been harsh and cruel, but firm; and, though he is always spoken of as a despot, it is likewise acknowledged that the power of Bruné was better upheld under his tyrannical sway than under the imbecile government of his successors. About twelve years ago Rajah Api was displaced by the faction of the sultan, headed by his sister. The particulars of which event I will now give as I received them. The complete dependence of the sultan on Rajah Api was always a subject of dislike and bitterness, and the catastrophe was probably longer in progress than my informants mentioned. The Rajah Api, having cause to complain of the sultan on some trivial occasion, sought him and upbraided him severely, and even threatened him with his drawn kris, till the sultan implored forgiveness for his offence and wept bitterly. From this time the sultan's mother resolved on deposing her brother, Rajah Api, and in the space of a month, her measures being prepared, she proceeded to carry her design into execution; having sounded many of the principal men, and removed the most valuable effects of the sultan (her son), she fled with him to another quarter of the city, and openly declared against Rajah Api. The population sided entirely with her, and in the course of two days, Rajah Api was nearly deserted in his fort, whither he had retired, in order to make head against the sultan. Finding resistance useless, he escaped with his followers to a large boat, intending to quit Borneo; 1840.

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1840. but the crew having deserted, he was unable to move. He remained, however, in the prahu, ready to sell his life dearly in case of attack; for he expected nothing less, being encircled by enemies. Such a course of policy was not the intention of the opposite faction, who contented themselves with surrounding the prahu containing him and his followers, so that they could get neither food nor water, and in this wretched state they remained for several days till nearly starved. A pangeran, a friend and partisan of Rajah Api, then found his way to the boat with some provisions, professing that his fear of discovery was overruled by his attachment and desire to serve him, and proposed their flight in a small sampan *, the rajah being disguised as a woman. Desperate as was the proposal, it was agreed to as the only remaining chance; and Rajah Api, having covered himself with his sarong, worn like a woman's over his head, proceeded with Muda Hassim, and a few other men of rank as pullers, towards the mouth of the river. The pangeran who had decoyed them, being an agent of the sultan's party, had every thing prepared, and they were seized beyond the town by an overwhelming number of boats. Rajah Api demanded a conference with his sister, and the sultan his nephew; but it was refused, and orders were given the following day for his immediate execution. He received the intimation with firmness (as all natives

* Small boat or canoe.

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do), called for some ciri, which having eaten, he threw off his bajow (a jacket), and allowed the fatal cord to be put round his throat; and his last remark aloud to all in the boat was, "Observe well on which side I fall — if it be to the right, all is well with Borneo, but if on the left, Borneo will be involved in many troubles." The cord was made fast, and Rajah Api, as life departed, reclined from his sitting posture to the left side, and dying thus, bequeathed the prophecy of evil and misrule, which probably, living, he had long foreseen. A few days after, Pangeran Muda Hassim was called upon to attend his sister and the sultan, and walked up disarmed in the midst of a turbulent populace, who brandished their krises and swords in his face, and threatened him aloud with the fate of his brother.* Being, however, innocent of Rajah Api's crimes, he was pardoned and restored to favour, and took his brother's situation, as the *nominal bandahara*. Since then he has been the acting ruler under the sultan and his mother — and all being ignorant, and weak, and dilatory, the country may be said to be without any government at all; every one, from the sultan downwards, scrambling for a revenue, which is evaded in all possible ways. It appears strange that, Rajah Api being dead, and the sultan's right undoubted and acknowledged, and backed by power, he did not and does not

1840.

* He related the latter part of the facts to me after I had heard them from others, and *only* when he knew I was acquainted with them.

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1840. assume the title of Iang de per Tuan, according to legal forms; but it is certain he never has, and probably never will; for which the only reason I can hear is, that it would inevitably give rise to disturbances, and the state of Borneo seems tumultuous enough, without any additional stimulus. There is no doubt that the nakodas, or mercantile class, greatly disturb the peace of the country, though the result may ultimately prove beneficial, and that as their intercourse with Singapore enlarges, they will gain a degree of indirect power, which may set at nought all the old established rules of despotism.

The riches of this country were formerly altogether in the hands of the sultan and other great pangerans, and the usual mode of collecting revenue was, by sending boats to take the produce at a price merely nominal, the residue being left to the inhabitants, who were, and still are in theory, mere slaves. As the government, however, has become weak, and the mercantile class been stimulated by profits to be gained at Singapore, the people, or rather the local governments, have shown great reluctance to part with their riches, and, generally speaking, the sultan and his pangerans have been content with a very diminished revenue, rather than coerce countries which they had no means of keeping permanently in subjection. The class of nakodas, taking advantage of this, are yearly busy in making engagements for the following season for the Singapore market; and when the sultan's

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1840.

demands arrive, he is put off with excuses of the exhausted state of the country, and the scarcity of produce, which produce, in the meantime, has been bought up by the nakodas. The right of sailing a prahu was formerly entirely in the hands of the sultan, and he gave the permission to a limited number, on their making ample payment for the same: now, however, the nakodas have broken through this right, and obtain the permission from the local authorities, who share with them in the profits of the speculation, as indeed do many other persons in the country. Thus, what between the sultan and pangerans of Borneo on the one hand, and the nakodas and local authorities on the other, there is a scramble for the produce of the soil, — the one demanding, the other withholding, and the latter are usually successful, exactly according to their distance from the capital. I never could learn that more than 200 or 300 reals went to Borneo from either Sadong, Lingu, or Sakarran, or Sereki; and rarely so much. Sarāwak has paid nothing for years past; Kaluka affords a little sago; Muka, Bintulu, and Oya are more heavily taxed, being nearer; and the provinces immediately about the capital bear the chief brunt of the sultan's expenses. In fact, the prince and his chiefs rob all classes of Malays to the utmost of their power; the Malays rob the Dyaks, and the Dyaks hide their goods as much as they dare consistent with the safety of their wives and children. The usual way is, for the sultan to

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1840. give, at a fixed price, some nakoda or pangeran an order on the country for a certain quantity of produce. The demand is made on the arrival of the parties, evaded, discussed; intrigue and bullying on both sides follow, and then the matter is usually compromised for half-a-quarter of the required amount; otherwise, if the party to whom the order is addressed be strong, he sends away the bearer, and probably hears no more of it. Such is the miserable state of things; such is the wretched condition of a country where the choicest productions, mineral and vegetable, abound; so miserable, indeed, that I believe, spite of all my former prepossessions in favour of a Malay state, that any change must be for the better, and I do not believe that any change would be resisted by the great mass of the people.

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CHAP. XIV.

DESCRIPTION OF SARĀWAK. — ITS VARIOUS RIVERS. — SOIL AND PRODUCTIONS. — DANGER OF THE INHABITANTS. — INROADS OF PIRATES. — MR. BROOKE VISITS THE INTERIOR TRIBES. — THEIR IDEAS OF RELIGION. — PRACTICE OF TAKING HEADS. — PARTIAL USE OF THE SUMPITAN. — CEREMONIES OF MARRIAGE. — NOTIONS OF A FUTURE STATE. — FUNERAL RITES. — STRENGTH OF THE VARIOUS TRIBES. — VOCABULARIES.

1840. December.

December. — LET me now give some description of the territory of Sarāwak: it extends from Tanjong Datu to the entrance of the Samarahan river, a distance along the coast of about sixty miles in an E. S. E. direction, with an average breadth of fifty miles. It is bounded to the westward by the Sambas territory, to the southward by a range of mountains which separates it from the Pontianak rivers, and to the eastward by the Borneo territory of Sadong. Within this space there are several streams and islands, which it is needless here to describe at length, as the account of the river of Sarāwak will answer alike for the rest. There are two navigable entrances to this stream, and numerous smaller branches for boats, both to the westward and eastward. The two principal entrances unite at about twelve miles from the sea, and the river flows for twenty miles into the interior, in a southerly and westerly direction, when it again forms two branches — one running to the right, the other to the left,

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1840. hand, as far as the mountain range. Besides these facilities for water communication, there exist three branches from the easternmost entrance called Moratabas, one of which joins the Samarahan, and the two others flow from different points of the mountain range already mentioned.

The northern point, visible from the mouth of the Moratabas, is a bluff, called Tanjong Po, somewhat resembling Tanjong Datu. The entrance of the Moratabas is easily distinguished from the offing, on the starboard hand going in, there being an isolated hill, or rather two or three hills, joined. These stand alone, and are the only high land on the water's edge in the bay. To the westward of this high ground is a bight quite shallow, and from the point at the river's mouth to Point Bluff there stretches a sand, dry in many places at low water. To the eastward is another extensive sandy flat, the exact limits of which I am unacquainted with, but it seems to choke the entire bay. Between these two the channel out of the Moratabas runs, at first for some distance with the river's mouth open, and then gradually inclining towards Tanjong Po. The channel is wide and deep, about three quarters of a mile across, and with three and a half and four fathom at low-water spring tides: the bottom is mud, and on either hand gradually hardens to sand, and the *depth* decreases regularly on both sides: so that a vessel may with safety trust to her lead on going out; but great caution should nevertheless be used.

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1840.

The river Samarahan is shallow at its entrance, and is situated in the bight of the bay to the southward and eastward of the Moratabas. Vessels at any time wishing to go into it, must enter by the Moratabas, and through the Riam as formerly described. From the Samarahan the land runs out about E. and N. and E. N. E. to a low point. From first low point the land runs with a slight indentation to second low point, and then gradually trends away to the southward and eastward to the mouth of the noble river of Sadong. Indeed, the second low point may almost be considered the starboard point of the river, and the opposite one runs out a long way towards Pulo Burong in a north-easterly direction. The width of this mouth is from eight to ten miles. At some distance further in there is a round point on the starboard hand, where the river narrows to about two miles, and preserves a breadth of from two to one mile, as far as the small stream called the Sangi, some way up which is situated the town of the same name, inhabited by Malays, and the residence of their governor, Sheriff Sahib. The Sadong is a noble stream, with a rushing tide of seven or eight knots an hour. The velocity of the current, and the obstruction from fishing stakes, render the navigation intricate in the dark, and at all times unpleasant for a vessel. The flood runs stronger than the ebb, and doubtless when it is checked by freshes, the bore is occasionally violent enough to endanger native boats.

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1840. The banks of the Sadong are low and woody, partially cleared, and the bottom is clayey mud. The natives report it to be sufficiently deep at the entrance for vessels to come in, but I had no opportunity of verifying their statement. The sand-flats continue four or five miles off the shore, from the Moratabas to Tanjong Balaban, or larboard entrance going into the Sadong. A passage may exist, however, through this sand, kept clear by the rush of the tide.

The Sangi is an inconsiderable stream, with a rise and fall of tide, from eighteen to twenty feet. It is cleared on both sides, and inhabited, as far as the town, by a straggling population.

The soil and productions of this country are of the richest description; and it is not too much to say, that within the same given space there are not to be found equal mineral and vegetable riches in any land in the world. The productions which are grown, or capable of being grown, are rice, canes, sago, rattans, and forest timber for ship-building, nutmegs, coffee, pepper, and indeed all the more valuable vegetable productions of the tropics. The mineral resources are diamonds, gold, tin, iron, antimony, and probably lead or copper. It must, in reading this list, be remembered, that the country is as yet unexplored by a scientific person, and that the inquiries of a geologist and a mineralogist would throw further light on the ores of the mountains, and the spots where they are to be found in the greatest plenty. The headlands are bold, with rocks and moderately

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1840.

elevated cliffs beetling over the water, white sandy beaches fringed with trees intervening. The rocks have a weather-beaten appearance, and the vegetation near them shows the effect of the high winds in the north-east monsoon. To the westward of Tanjong Po, reefs extend a mile and a half, and beyond these, there are no visible dangers. The rivers of Sirai, Tabo, and Bantal, near this, flow into the sea, all being connected with each other, and with the main stream of Sarāwak. The entrance of these streams is very shallow, and the tide irregular. The scenery is most striking, and the bold outline of Santobong Mountain beautiful in its picturesque irregularity. No place can well surpass this for exercise and for manly enjoyments. Wild hogs and deer abound; fish are plentiful. The gigantic ape, and the large lizard or biawak, whose length is about five feet, and which is, in fact, the land crocodile, occasionally cross our path, both being harmless, and anxious to escape into the jungle. Turtle are also abundant; and if the poor Dyaks who dwell on the coast were only sufficiently numerous to protect themselves, or lived under a government strong enough to afford them protection, a revenue might be collected. Now they are in constant peril of their lives, not only from the roving tribes of their own nation, and from the treacherous Malays, but also from those terrible pirates, the Illanuns and Balanini. Day after day, month after month, it is the same story; a life of watchfulness, — of flight and fight.

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1840. In the course of every year many lose their lives, and more their liberty. Oh that my ability to serve these benighted people were equal to my inclination to do so! My anxiety and my desires to ameliorate their condition are boundless; and though the love of home may beckon me thitherward, yet I must never dream of returning to my native land, until, at least, some measure of good has been accomplished. Sarāwak has been chosen as the seat of my labours, and I would make it a stepping stone across the island of Borneo to Koti, or from west to east. My means, it is true, are limited indeed, but with prudence, my expenses will not exceed my income; and in these countries, where vegetation is so prolific, and nature so bountiful, if once *security* is firmly established, food of every kind will soon exceed the ordinary demand, and may then be obtained at a moderate price. In this view I am ready to lay out a certain amount of capital in labour and improvement, for the purpose of clearing the jungle and rendering communication easier. I must always bear in mind, that I am not acting for myself alone, and that my loss or gain is but a trifling consideration compared with my character for justice, and the impression of European conduct, generally, on the native mind. Injustice and tyranny now stalk throughout the land. The Dyaks are slaughtered without mercy, and the coast may be said to be almost blockaded by the fleets of Sulu Pirates.

I have had opportunities of seeing and conversing with the principal men of several distinct tribes:

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amongst them, I may mention the Orong Kaya Pamanka (Malay title), of the Sibuyows, the head of the tribe in the Sadong river, a branch of which is at Lundu. In a long conversation just held with him, he verified my former account, as taken from the Sibuyows of Lundu, with the exception of Biadum. The Supreme Spirit of his tribe, he stated, was Batura, — no priests, — no religion, &c. — bury their dead. Head hunting among them is in disuse; they never seek heads, but only take those of their enemies they have slain in battle. Previous to marriage it was by no means necessary, and he disapproved of the custom. It is to be remembered, however, that the Orong Kaya Pamanka is, for a Dyak, highly civilised; but supposing him to be the most civilised man of the most civilised tribe, it is gratifying to see them abandoning their evil customs. It is quite refreshing to meet with so kind a reception; for all classes seem to vie who shall pay us most attention, and that really in a friendly way. Old acquaintances crowd upon us, eager to be remembered, and *of course* we remember them all.

Some men of three different tribes have visited me since I last wrote, viz., the Bukar, Brang, and Sabungo. I examined them separately on their manners, habits, and language; and it will be readily seen that their dialect bears a close resemblance, and is radically identical with the Malay. The Brang and the Sabungo spoke little or no Malay, and through the medium of a bad inter-

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1840. preter, it was difficult to obtain from them the same clear account as from the native of Bukar. I have mentioned Bukar as a mountain, situated above where we reached the Samarahan; it stands on the left bank, and one day's journey from the river, which may be estimated at fifteen or twenty miles. On the right bank of the Samarahan, one day's journey from Bukar, is the tribe of Sirin; half a day's journey from Sirin stands the high mountain of Brang, on the top of which are the tribe of the same name; and half a day's journey again from Brang are the mountain and tribe of Sabungo. Brang and Sabungo lying, as far as I can understand, to the southward and westward of Bukar. These are inland tribes, and distinguished amongst themselves from those inhabiting the sea coast. Their habits are by no means aquatic: they are unskilful in the management of canoes, and use them only on special occasions; yet this difference does not much affect their general habits and appearance, which greatly resemble those of the Dyaks on the coast. They are not tattooed, and though the sumpitan is occasionally used, it is by no means a national weapon of offence. They have little regard for ornaments: a slight piece of bark cloth is girt round the loins, and on the arms are a few rings of plaited bamboo; the hair of moderate length, and a piece of the same cloth is negligently tied over the head. Their chief weapons are the spear and the sword. They inhabit large houses like the Sibu-

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yows, and the three tribes of Bukar, Brang, and Sabungo, all freely allowed that they possessed heads. They marry but one wife, and the marriage ceremony is performed by swinging fowls round their heads *seven times*, and feasting and getting drunk.

I here detail the principal questions put to Sagama, a Bukar Dyak chief, a man of intelligence, who spoke Malay with moderate fluency.

"Did he know any thing of God?" (Allah talla.)

"No."

"Did his tribe believe that any one lived in the clouds?"

"Yes; Tupa lived there."

"Who sent thunder, lightning, and rain?"

"Tupa."

"Do they ever pray to Tupa, or offer sacrifice?"

"No."

"When a man dies what do they do with his body?"

"They burn it."

"Where do the dead go to after they are buried?"

"To Sabyan."

"Where is Sabyan?"

"Under the earth."

"Where is his father gone?"

"To Sabyan, — all the Dyak men and women who are dead are under the ground in Sabyan."

"How long will they stay at Sabyan?"

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"Do'nt know."

"When he dies, will he meet his father?"

"Yes; and his mother and all the people."

"Are they happy in Sabyan?"

"Yes; very happy."

"If a man was wicked, would he go to Sabyan?"

"Yes; but to another place, and he would not be happy."

On being questioned about taking heads, he said, "they always take the heads of their enemies, never of their friends."

"If they met strangers in the jungle, would they take their heads?"

"Yes, if they were strange Dyaks, but not the heads of Malays or white men."

"Could they marry without first having a head?"

"They could; but if they had a head it was considered honourable, and any young woman would then marry them."

"How many heads had they?"

"A good many old ones, but only three new ones."

"Whose heads were the new ones?"

"Brang heads."

(I was aware that the Brangs had recently been defeated.) Of their laws I could make nothing. If a man stole, he had to return the goods and pay a fine.

"In case of murder in their own tribe what did they do?"

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"Such things never happened!!"

The tribe consists of about 150 fighting men, and they live on the mountains of Bukar. Sino, a Dyak of Brang, spoke, as I have before said, very little Malay. They lived in the high mountain of Brang. Their fighting men amounted to sixty or seventy, before their defeat. They have only one wife; they need not have a head before marriage, nor do they take any heads, save of their enemies. When marrying they take a fowl, swing it over their heads, then kill and eat it, but there is no feast. Before marriage they make presents to the bride's father. After a man is dead they burn his body. He did not know whether they lived or not after death. He mentioned Tupa, but said he knew nothing about him.

The difficulty of making the Brang and the Sabungo quite understand me, prevented my arriving at any knowledge of their ideas respecting a Supreme Being.

The Sabungo, by name Angass, stated, that they lived at the foot of a mountain called Kuyoh, and the tribe consisted of fifty fighting men. In every other particular they resembled the Brangs.

From the Bukar (at another time) I received a verification of the fact of their burning their dead, and he likewise stated, that they knew about Tupa, and believed, like the Bukars, that their dead went to Sabyan.

Segama, the Bukar, measured five feet five inches and a half; was fair, not well made, but intelligent.

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1840. Sino, the Brang, measured five feet four inches and a half; well, but slightly made, and had a very sensible countenance. Angass, the Sabungo, measured four feet ten inches, and was stout and athletic for a Dyak.

They gave their accounts cheerfully, and often forcibly, seeming pleased at being called on to do so. From their locality, they can have little or no communication with the Malays. They disliked our brandy and wine, which the Dyaks of the coast drank greedily; and from their appearance and habits seemed to be a very unsophisticated people, and may be reckoned as pure Dyaks. I believe the accounts of their ferocity and blood-thirstiness to be greatly exaggerated; and certainly, all my inquiries heretofore go to prove them a wild, ignorant, but by no means a fierce race; and in the scanty and unsatisfactory accounts we have of them from other sources, it is likely that the marvellous and the horrible form the leading features. Yet I would not be understood as having arrived at any conclusion myself, for the Dyaks differ greatly according to tribe and situation, and the Kayans, probably, will be found to have distinctive features. The Dyak tribes I have conversed with mark this distinction strongly themselves. They speak well of the Kayans, but bade me beware of the Dyaks who wear small ear-rings, for they assert them to be fierce and treacherous. The fiercest and most treacherous are the powerful tribes of Sarēbas.

Examined three more tribes of Dyaks, viz. the

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Sintah, the Gurgo, and the Sinar. Those of Sintah and Gurgo are situated not above half a day's journey from Sabungo, and the two are intimately connected. The name of the Sintah chief was Cimboug, a man of intelligence. The accounts of their habits and manners differed but little from what I had previously collected, but I give it in detail, in order to accumulate a mass of evidence showing the probability of all the untattoed Dyaks being one people.

The strength of the tribe of Sintah was formerly about 1000 fighting men, and they had upwards of a thousand skulls. They dwell on the top of a mountain: the heads were clearly stated to be the heads of enemies: they would take no others. If a white man, China-man, or Malay were to come into their country, they would not kill him for his head, but if they quarrelled and fought, and he was killed, they would then secure the prize for the ladies! They would not either kill a stranger Dyak who came as a friend amongst them. It was *absolutely necessary* to be the possessor of *one* head previous to marriage. If a man wanted to get married and could not procure an enemy's head, he accompanied a party of perhaps fifty or one hundred men a long way into the interior, and then attacked any body for the sake of the head.

The chief, Cimboug, was particularly examined on this point, and insisted it was only on such an occasion they made these excursions, and then always a long way from home! They present

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1840. clothes, rice, &c. to the parents of the bride, and on the occasion of the marriage give a feast to the tribe, which lasts for four days and nights. The marriage ceremony is as follows:—They smear a paste made of saffron mixed with a little gold dust, and fowls' blood, over the chest, forehead, and hands. The man and woman each take a fowl, and pass it *seven times* across the chest, then kill it, and a small string of beads being attached to the right wrist of either party, the ceremony is complete. After this the new-married pair remain in absolute seclusion for the space of seven days. Their dead are buried with various articles in the grave, such as spears, cloths, rice, ciri, betel, &c., and the head which the party first gained during his lifetime. The Spirit in the clouds was Tupa, but the dead go to Sabyan, a good place under the earth; his father he stated to be gone to Sabyan. The evidence was exactly the same as the other tribes; they never prayed or sacrificed, and beyond the name of Tupa they had no idea. They bestowed on him no attributes of power or greatness, of mercy or wrath: they seek not to deprecate his anger, or gain his approval. The name is the name of their God, but it is the first and faintest trace of the belief of a rude mind in a Supreme Being.

The habits and customs of Gurgo are the same as those of Sintah: the tribes are so intimately connected as to intermarry. Their warriors are about 1500 in number: they live on a mountain about a day's journey from the tribe of Sintah.

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Sinar is a distant tribe in the interior, three days' journey beyond the Sarāwak river. They likewise inhabit a mountain, and the tribe consists of 700 fighting men.

It is not necessary, amongst them, to possess a head before marriage, as making presents to the parents of the bride is sufficient. Their marriage ceremony is as follows:—They have four cups in which are hogs' blood, fowls' blood, rice, and gold dust, each in a separate cup. Four cups are carried by the bride, four by the bridegroom in a tray on their heads, and when they retire to rest are placed over their couch. They do not assemble the tribe, nor do they feast, the immediate relatives of the parties only being present. The account of Sabyan and Tupa was the same as already stated: their dead are burned with a great quantity of wood and cloth, rice, &c., and *one head* burnt with them: after death the deceased went to Sabyan. The Sinar chief was an elderly man; scarcely spoke a word of Malay, but so ready to give the account of their customs, that the instant the interpreter made known to him what we wanted, he proceeded with a long detail, explaining by action the way they performed the ceremony of marriage, &c. The vocabulary of their respective languages was given with great clearness; and I made it a rule to read to one tribe what I had collected from another, and most of the words they understood freely. From the numbers I have seen I may safely pronounce that they are by no

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1840. means a fine race. Their stature is short, their persons generally slight, though well formed; their muscles little developed, and bearing all the marks of savage life by exercise, but not labour: the countenance is intelligent, the eye good; but their colour is scarcely so light as that of the Malay: the general characteristic of the countenance the same. In their demeanour they are unceremonious, but respectful, and somewhat reserved, without the forwardness of the Malays. The objects of wonder to be seen in the vessel, particularly the mirrors, attracted their attention; but they never gave way to the bursts of astonishment and laughter which the lower Malays indulge in, nor do they handle every thing that comes in their way in the same manner. I conceive on the whole, indeed, that they are a race easily to be modelled and improved, and nothing would tend so quickly to this, as the absence of all prejudice — of religion, food, or caste. It is evident, they look upon the Malays as a superior race.

Four more Dyak tribes all confirm the previous statements:—

1st. Sampro in the interior of Sarāwak. Live in a mountain, the tribe consisting of 400 warriors.

2d. Bubanok, who inhabit the mountains of Kurupit, situated like the former. Tribe of fifty warriors: heads plenty. Go once or twice in a year against their enemies further in the interior to seek for heads. If they attack the enemy's village they may procure ten heads; but if with a small party,

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snatching from the farms perhaps one, two, or three. 1840.

Bury the dead: after death go to Sabyan, &c.

3d. Stang-Pukarong: inhabit the mountain Sŭrundok: tribe of thirty warriors, situated like the former. Other particulars the same.

4th. Sabutan. Inhabit the mountain Darot, about one day's journey from Brang. Tribe of twenty warriors, possessing ten heads, &c.

The whole of these tribes may be said to inhabit the mountains, whence in all probability flow the numerous rivers which run to the sea between Tanjong Santobong and the Sadong. It would be interesting to reach this region, and I hope shortly to accomplish it, as I start for an excursion up the Sadong river the day after to-morrow.

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CHAP. XV.

MUDA HASSIM. — THE WILD PATAKAN. — CANNIBALISM OF THE BATTAS. — DO MEN REALLY EAT ONE ANOTHER? — DYAK CEREMONIES ON THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE. — FRUIT TREES. — IDEAS OF PROPERTY. — GOVERNMENT OF THE DYAKS. — CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. — FIGURATIVE EXPRESSIONS. — DYAK FONDNESS FOR DRINKING. — ASCENT OF THE SADONG RIVER. — HOSPITALITY OF SHERIFF SAHIB. — THE BORE. — FIRE FLIES. — THE PODADA TREE. — VACILLATION OF THE NATIVES. — ENTER A FOREST LAKE. — SECLUDED DYAK SETTLEMENT. — CHASE OF THE ORANG OUTANG. — DEATH OF THE GAME. — BURYING-PLACE OF THE DYAKS. — DYAK HOSPITALITY. — CONDITION OF THE NATIVES. — FORTIFIED DWELLINGS. — AN ENLIGHTENED DYAK. — GOLD ORNAMENTS. — OMENS AND SUPERSTITIOUS RITES. — MOUNTAIN RANGE. — ITS INHABITANTS. — LAND AND SEA DYAKS. — STRANGE CUSTOMS. — DYAK PIRATES. — COSTUME.

1840. MUDA HASSIM promises fair and steady, and as soon as a blow is struck at the rebels, he will himself accompany me to Borneo, touching by the way at all the principal rivers. In the hope he may do so, I am induced to wait, and employ myself during the interim with one or two excursions. The chief object now to be gained, is an acquaintance with the Kayans, the tattooed warriors of the Rejang, Bintulu, and other rivers. There can be little doubt, from their language, that the untattooed Dyaks are all of one race, closely resembling each other in habits, manners, customs, and language, and of the same stock as the Polynesians, since traces of the original tongue run through their various dialects.

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I inquired much of the Malays, whether any tribe of Dyaks, thereby meaning all the wild people, were suspected of cannibalism, and they all agreed that no such stigma was affixed to any, save the very savages, called Patakan, who, according to their account, are the wildest of the wild; they wander in search of food from place to place, have no houses or fixed habitations, and sleep in trees.

The custom of the Battas*, of legally sentencing a man, for particular crimes, to be tied up and eaten before and by the assembled multitude, is indeed a barbarous mode of executing justice, which, I understand, is still practised by that Sumatran tribe; but to prove a race anthropophagi of the worst sort, who eat their fellows for the sake of eating, is far different from this, and I do not think it has been yet done, though often asserted. Let me add, likewise, that out of the hundreds of uncivilised tribes, in all parts, and through all times, asserted to be anthropophagi, the charge has been proved groundless, and as the world has become enlightened, these accusations have gradually been confined within a very limited space, and brought forward with great caution. This argument alone speaks volumes; for, if out of the endless assertions of the fact, *none* have been proved, and almost all disproved, may we not doubt of the recent accounts

* I visited the country adjoining the Battas in Sumatra, in March, 1846, and ascertained that the people ate their parents alive when they were old.—EDITOR.

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1840. till we have the testimony of an enlightened eye-witness — a man of education, unlikely to be led away by the vague horrors and dreamy accounts of credulous natives? I must add a few more remarks on Dyak customs, as I obtain them from the Dyaks themselves. When peace is made between them, one tribe visits the other, in order to feast together; and on these occasions, whatever the number of visitors may be, they are at liberty to use the fruits of their hosts without hinderance. At their pleasure they strip the cocoa-nuts off the trees, and devour, and carry away as much as they can, without offence. Of course the hosts in turn become visitors, and pay in the same coin. All the Dyaks are remarkably tenacious of their fruit-trees; but on the occasion of the feast, beside taking the fruit, the visitors fell one tree, as a symbol of good understanding: of course it is only once that such liberties are taken or allowed; at other times it would be an affront sufficient to occasion a war.

The fruit trees about the Kampong, and as far as the jungle round, are *private property*, and all other trees which are in any way useful, such as the bamboo, various kinds for making bark-cloth, the bitter kōny, and many others. Land, likewise, is individual property, and descends from father to son; so, likewise, is the fishing of particular rivers, and indeed most other things. So tenacious are they of this kind of property, that amongst them-

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selves the young shoots of bamboo (which are edible) cannot be cut by any one but the proprietor, without incurring a fine. 1840.

The government of the Dyaks, as I have formerly observed when speaking of the Lundus, seems to be administered more by general consent than from any authority lodged in the chief. His power, indeed, is one of persuasion, and depends upon his personal ability, nor can he in any way coerce his people to obedience. Amongst the hill Dyaks the laws are based on the same principle; punishment is usually by fine, imposed by a council of old men. In cases of murder, retort in kind is allowed and justified; but, unlike the law of the Arabs, the retaliation must be confined to the individual murderer. If one man kills another, a brother or friend of the deceased kills him in return, and the business ends; but they can likewise settle the matter by paying a fine, provided both parties give their consent. In all other cases fines prevail; and, as far as I have yet heard, no severer punishment is ever inflicted for crime.

One evening I was speaking to the chief of the Sintah tribe, and, in their own phraseology, compared a government to a fruit-tree, whereon many birds perched to eat. He immediately caught my simile, and continued it thus: "That is true, but under Pangeran Makota's government, the big birds pecked the little ones, and drove them away, and would not allow them to have food. We were

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1840. little birds, and were pecked very hard. I will relate to you," he said, "a saying (pantun), — 'A plantain in the mouth, and a thorn in the back.' What is the pleasure of eating a plantain, if you get a thorn behind? So it was with pangeran Makota: he gave us a little, which was the plantain, and asked a great deal, which was the thorn. I want to eat no such plantains."

The old man was very talkative, having drunk two glasses of gin and water, and amused me greatly. He insisted on my accepting his travelling basket, when I said to him, "You are tipsy to-night, and will be sorry in the morning, that you have given away your basket." "Take it," he replied; "I shan't be sorry — you are our friend. I am not tipsy — what makes me tipsy, is bullets and spears, and being hunted by enemies; in this way I have been tipsy for five years, and it is only since you have come, that we are at peace. Tuak wont make me tipsy — bullets and spears make me tipsy — and if I get tipsy on tuak, it is because I like it; and what does it signify if I do get tipsy?" I might note more of such anecdotes, as characteristic of their shrewd sense and simple character. They are evidently fond of drinking, and indulge periodically in drunken bouts.

Shortly after the above information was obtained, I started on an expedition up the Sadong river. I had fitted up my own long boat, the "Skimalong," with some additional comforts, having an excellent

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awning under the mats, which kept us dry in the violent rains of the season. 1840.

Our party consisted of Mr. Williamson, Mr. Williams, Mr. M'Kenzie, the mate of the boat and three seamen. Two pangerans in a large native boat accompanied us as an escort. On the second evening we disembarked at Sangĭ, and took up our lodging at the house of the chief, and proceeded the next day to the head-quarters of Sheriff Sahib, one of the most renowned of the river chiefs. I presented him with a double-barrelled gun, which gratified him much, and on my expressing a desire to ascend the river in order to see and shoot the orang-outang in its native woods, he freely gave me permission.

I found this Sangĭ a pleasant place, provisions plentiful and cheap, quarters comfortable, the hospitality of the host unbounded, and our dinner excellent; but time was pressing, so after a stay of a few days, we recommenced our ascent of the Sadong, and brought up at the pretty little village of Simunjang. The Datu received us warmly, furnished us with a capital house and the best of good cheer, and the whole party slept comfortably; however, we found in the morning, that our boats had been nearly swamped by the "bore," which came in strong in the middle of the night. There is, as usually, a long tree which reaches to low-water mark, and serves as a landing-place to all villages; when the wave came in suddenly sweep-

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1840. ing the bank, the bulge of our boat took this tree, and in an instant it was half full of water.

About two P. M. we saw this bore again rushing in with equal violence: it swept in a rapidly advancing wave to the high-water mark, about twelve feet, and passed on in its irresistible course without doing any mischief, as we had our boat in the centre of the river. Many native canoes went a short way down to meet it, and when its sullen voice was heard they raised loud shouts, and the next instant were whirled along with incredible velocity on the summit of the curling wave. It reminded me of the account of the Madras Katamarans in their surf.

Late in the afternoon we reached the last Dyak village, and at night moored our boats beyond the limits of population. Near our anchorage was a Podada tree (of the Malays), covered with fire-flies, flashing and glancing until the stronger light of the moon extinguished their tiny radiance. This Podada is the ornament of most of the river banks. The foliage is of a light green colour, and remarkably elegant. To behold these trees illuminated by the fire-flies, in countless numbers, is a most enchanting sight, and resembles a fire-work, by the constant motion of the light. On the Samarahan I have seen each side of the river lit by a blaze of these beautiful little insects.

In spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of the collective pangerans, we proceeded up the

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river. They said, and they swore, that we could not ascend at all,—that the stream was very strong, and if we got up, the least it would take was five days,—the river covered with trees and drifts of timber, rendered it dangerous,—there was imminent peril, and if anything happened to me, what would become of them—their lives would be the forfeit! All this being vain, for I knew their ways, they accompanied me for a short distance, when the pangeran Kaka stopped, and contented himself with sending on his two inferiors in a small boat. They had been so convinced they could turn me back, that they neglected to bring any rice in their prahu, though manned with twenty hands. I mention this to show to what great vexation a traveller is exposed although his followers may be obliged, by the orders of their rajah, to accompany him. But woe betide the poor wayfarer who fancies he can penetrate into the country without the assistance of the chiefs! The chances are, the natives would not go with him at all; but if they did, it would only be to desert him on the first difficulty. With me it was different, for they are bound to follow wherever I obstinately lead; and on my part, I rival their politeness, rarely allow my temper to become ruffled, and after these amicable contests for advance or retreat, always behave very civilly, and supply as far as I can the deficiencies produced by their negligence and thoughtlessness. A fowl, or an occasional cigar to the pangerans, a little rice

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or a few handfuls of biscuit, usually restore good temper; for though they be generally lazy and lying, they are always civil. After one pangeran remained behind we continued our course, and the channel soon contracted to eighteen feet, and even less, between rows of the rasow etam of the Malays, which grew out from either side of the rapid and clear stream.

After a hard pull, we stopped at nine o'clock to breakfast, and enjoyed all the luxury of a delicious bath in limpid water. At ten we took again to our paddles, and during the whole day were struggling against the difficulties of the ascent. Every instant the paddles had to be taken in, the channel being not broader than the boat, and too deep to pole up; in many places it was choked up with drift wood, collections of which, overgrown with grass, every here and there formed floating islands, and entirely obstructed the passage. The labour of forcing our way was difficult and tedious, and our *large boat* often stuck beyond our power of extraction, and had to be dragged forward by the four small canoes in company; with all this, however, we made good way; for these canoes, getting a-head wherever the passage allowed, towed us along at a rapid pace. The stream, likewise, as we ascended the river, instead of increasing in force as I expected, slackened, and finally became almost dead. This is occasioned, I presume, by our having reached the level of the lake, where it expands

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itself amid the forest, and creeps forward in its bed till it finds an exit into the lower ground. Our entire course lay along the already mentioned narrow and crooked channel, through the black rasow, and on either hand the boundless forest, which, if cleared, would at this season present the aspect of a vast lake. The consequence of this inundation, which occurs annually, is, that the trees are straggling and unhealthy, and though Noah's dove might have found a good resting-place, there would have been none for Noah himself. 1840.

The sight of the distant mountains cheered us forward, and after being twelve hours on our voyage, we reached the foot of the hill called Kundah, where some rude clearing proclaimed the welcome presence of a Dyak settlement, and at a quarter past five we came up to the house, which stood on the plain, and made snug for the night.

Considering the difficulties of the way, we had advanced far, and though all hands were pretty tired, I went up to make acquaintance with the Dyak chief, whose people are a branch of the extensive and scattered tribe of the Sibuyow. The greater part of them have lately come from their former location on the Sadong, after the death or *murder* of their chief by the Data Maraja, who was our host at Simunjang.

No earthly spot can well be more secluded than their present residence, situated far beyond the

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1840. habitation of the Malays, and only accessible, throughout the greater part of the year, by an intricate channel amid a swampy forest. The next day, between nine and ten A. M., Williamson and myself started for the lake in Rajah Ali's canoe, accompanied by a second, containing the two pangerans, who were attended by numerous Dyaks. We had not proceeded, however, above ten minutes before an orang-outang was descried seated amid the branches of a high tree on the banks of the stream. Startled by the noise, he made off before we could land, and a hot pursuit commenced, the animal being from time to time discovered, as he slowly passed from tree to tree in advance of us, whilst we struggled through the jungle beneath. Having thus crossed a slight ridge of elevated ground, we were stopped by the dark, deep, ugly-looking swamp, and the chase likewise paused, and from the top of a tree kept up an occasional grunting bark. Our hesitation was only momentary, for, throwing off my trowsers and shoes (which I repented), I took water, followed by Rajah Ali and many Malays and Dyaks, and soon found myself struggling up to the shoulders, with the rifle in one hand and the ammunition in the other. As we advanced a little, the water luckily shoaled to the waist, and I had time to look for the game, which was stationary in the position he had taken when last seen. Rajah Ali was by my side, and firing together at about forty-five yards, it was evident

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that one or both balls had taken effect, for the huge monster went more and more slowly from one tree to another, whilst we kept loading and firing as fast as our situation allowed; then wading here and there, we enjoyed the full excitement of the chase. The wood rang with shots, and the shouts of the Dyaks, as waving their spears and brandishing their swords, they rushed from one spot to another to gain a view of the devoted brute. At length, a fortunate shot from my rifle through his head brought him from the summit of a tree, crashing through the branches with a heavy splash into the water. The chase was finished: the height of the animal was four feet one inch, and it was said not to be a large one.

During our progress we passed the burying-ground of the Dyaks, and I again returned to inspect it. It was situated on the slightly elevated ridge near the channel, shaded by fine trees. Each grave was entirely covered by a bundle of sticks a foot and a half or two feet in height. These were kept together by a transverse cross. On the graves of the men were placed the scabbard of their swords, their arm-rings, and other light ornaments, whilst over those of the women were hung their waist-rings of rattan; a jar of water and food were placed at the head and foot of each, and in a hole amid the burying-place I saw two skulls; but they had the appearance of being the heads of young persons accidentally disinterred. The Dyaks had never

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1840. taken me before to a burying-ground, and I fancied they wished to hurry me from this, and appeared unwilling to remain themselves. On the whole, this place of interment bore the aspect of neglect; but the superstitious observances of the people are evident, and were we ignorant of them, the fact alone of their placing food with the dead, would be sufficient proof of their belief in a future life.

Having re-embarked, a pull of a mile or little more brought us to the entrance of the lake or padang*; a little clear gem of water, about five miles long and from one to two broad, surrounded by woods and mountains. The hill we left in the morning is called Kundah, about 700 feet high. On the larboard-hand, somewhat retired from the lake, is Papok, about 800 feet high, from which inferior hills slope to the water's edge. At the head of the lake are ridges of various elevation, and retired from it, a short distance, the mountain of Buri, about 1800 or 2000 feet in height, whilst over it, in the background, the peak of Kalinkan is visible. At this season the high ground is alone above water, but during the north-east monsoon the lake is represented as dry, with only a deep channel running through it. The immediate banks on the larboard-hand are low but verdant, and the hills are likewise adorned with finer timber than the swampy plain. Whilst lazily waiting the report of our Dyaks who were detached in search of the mias, we fell in with

* Padang properly signifies a plain.

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a party of Balows, who were building a prahu up a short creek. The pangerans instantly swore they were the most treacherous and perfidious of the Dyak tribes, and assured me I should be murdered or maimed if I ventured near them; but having sent to apprise them of my coming to prevent any sudden alarm, I pushed into the creek, where I found about twenty men at work. The chief spoke Malay badly, for they are an independent tribe, consisting of 500 or 600 warriors, and located about half a day's journey from the lake to the southward. They dislike the Malays, and hold little or no intercourse with them, and few of these people dare venture amongst them. In appearance, customs, and speech they are the same as the Sibuyows; and their language, therefore, as may be seen by a reference to the dialect of the latter, is nearer the Malay than is that of other tribes. They are friendly with the Sibuyows, but at deadly feud with the Sarēbas, and they seemed proud when they told me that the prahu they were making, was meant for a cruise against these enemies. To me they were very civil, invited me to their country, and, on my declining, promised to visit me to-morrow.

After our interview with the Balow other mias were discovered, and off we set again and killed an adult female rembi with a young one at her breast, which we took alive, and a second a year or two old (probably her former offspring) in company,

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1840. which we likewise killed. Heavy rains setting in and our guns being thoroughly soaked, we returned from an agreeable day's excursion, having added much to natural history on this interesting point, and something to geography. This adult female, evidently full grown and by no means young, measured three feet seven inches in height, with that general resemblance to the young male killed in the morning, which would naturally exist between animals of the same species and the relative height and proportions which we should expect between a young male and adult female. No doubt can longer reasonably exist of the identity of species of these two male and female rembi, and their wide distinction from the pappan, or, as the Dyaks call it, chappin. It would, however, be desirable to procure an adult male rembi, or the female pappan, with the callosities on the cheek.

Sept. 16. *Sept.* 16.—Mounted the hill behind the Dyak house called Kundah. From near the top we gained an uninterrupted view to the W. and S. W but from the forest on each side of the clearing it is impossible to see either to the E. or the S. There is a continuous range of mountains running from Kalinkan as far as the eye can reach, and the natives pointed out the mountains behind Sarāwak, which lay to the N. of Kalinkan; and from their several directions I should judge that they unite with Gunongo Matang, Gadong, Po, and Pulo, which

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finish this range to the W. The bearings are as follows from Kundah:— 1840.

Remon, 263½. Remon is on the river Malikin, which runs into the Sadong. There is a small lake and Dyak tribe called Malikin on it.

Rowan, 235. A high, conical mountain further to the S. than the others.

Kalinkan, 158. Flat, long mountain.

Sadong, 238. Lower hills, said by the natives to be the source of the river of that name.

Bukar, 271.

Guyu, 277. A high mountain. Extreme mountain said to be behind the Sarāwak, 287.

Direction from Kalinkan to Guyu, about W. or W. by N. As far as I could judge from Guyu, the hills tend to the N. considerably. Remon and Guyu are further to the N. than Sadong or Rowan. The latter, as I have said, is considerably behind the front of the range.

Those hills are the highest in the range, and Rowan the highest of all. Rowan I should think at least 6000 feet in height, and Guyu about 4000; but it is very difficult to form anything like a correct judgment at so great a distance. The natives state this range to run to the eastward even as far as Kina Balow, and I have no doubt of its contiuuance, for the rivers Sarēbas, Linga, and Rejang are similar to those we have already visited, and most probably take their source from the same range. From the entrance of Simunjang I took

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1840. the bearing of a distant mountain, probably Remon, which bore S. by W. The existence of this range is interesting, and is probably that which Arrowsmith marked as running E. and W. through the centre of the island, but which he was afterwards persuaded to erase.

Whilst employed in taking these bearings, word was brought of more orang outangs, so off I set forgetting geography in the ardour of sport. It was to my disappointment — another female rembi with her young. The young one was shot in the arms of the parent, which when severely wounded let it go, then twisting the boughs into a nest quietly seated herself, and in a short time expired without falling, and causing us considerable trouble to get her down, for the tree was lofty and difficult to climb, and the Dyaks did not show the expertness I expected. I may here note down what I have observed of these animals in their wild state. They are indolent and sluggish in their movements, for, even when alarmed by the shouts of men and the firing, they never went from tree to tree faster than a man might easily follow through the jungle below, nor did they on any occasion retreat from us; after proceeding 100 or 200 yards, they stopped and allowed their pursuers to come up to them. In general they sought the very summit of a lofty tree, and often remained seated without changing their position, whilst several shots were discharged at them. They appeared very indifferent

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1840.

to the presence of men, and but little alarmed by the noise made in approaching them. In one instance only (that of the young male rembi) was flight had recourse to before we fired, and then it was not for any great distance. Their motions were always slow and deliberate, as we perceived in the young ones in captivity. When wounded, the rembi uttered a sort of grunting bark, which, in the tame one I had, betokened rage; but never, on any occasion I saw, did they offer to fight or throw down any thing at their pursuers. The natives fancy they do; but I observed it was only the rotten wood broken by their weight. In short, they are very lazy and harmless, and easily got at; but they take a great deal of killing. One rembi had six balls in him, and the seventh in the head alone dispatched him. It must be borne in mind, however, that I have not seen the largest mias pappan; yet, from what I have observed and heard, I am inclined to think the native stories of their ferocity to be untrue or much exaggerated, though from their great strength an old male might attack a single man if provoked. Rajah Ali (the Datu Jembrang's son), who enjoyed the sport keenly, laughed at these tales, and assured me he would catch any mias, even of the largest size, with a few men. The way, as he explained it, was as follows:— Having discovered the animal in a tree, they approach without disturbing him, and as quietly as possible cut down all the trees around the one he

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1840. is in. Being previously provided with poles, some with nooses attached to the ends and others forked, they fell the isolated tree, and the mias, confused, entangled, is beset by his pursuers, noosed, forked down, and made captive. I doubt not this mode may be adopted with success when the trees are not thick, and, at any rate, I have made Rajah Ali promise to try to procure me a large mias pappan by offering him thirty dollars for one as tall as a man. The mias, both pappan and rembi (I assume the distinction), have nests or houses in the trees formed by twisted leaves and twigs, and resembling a rook's nest in every thing but size. The natives always search for these nests, and, going beneath, strike the tree in which they are a smart stroke, when the animal, if there, generally gives a grunt. I saw them pursue this method, but we never found the animal in its lair; but the wounded one, as I have related, formed a nest and died in it. I further learn from the natives that at the full of the moon the mias roams a great deal, but at the time of new moon they are sluggish and remain stationary in their nests. They attribute this to a fever which seizes them about the new moon, but it is more probable that, at the full, they roam in search of the opposite sex. In the fruit season, which here commences about November, the mias are found close round the habitations of men, but at other seasons they retire more into the forest, and, from the appearance of their teeth, they must live on hard-rinded fruits. The natives say they

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eat the bark of certain trees. They are never found in numbers together, in general only single, though occasionally the male and female are in company. Of the many natives whom I have examined, all agree concerning the two distinct species. Some of these men were intelligent, and well acquainted with the habits of the animal. Rajah Ali, who was by no means given to exaggerate, was positive that the female and young of the pappan are both, like the male, distinguished by the callosities on the cheeks. He assured me he had seen both. Datu Maraja, of Simunjang, had often seen the female pappan in the woods about his residence, but the rembi was not found there. The females had the cheek callosities as well as the males. At Sangi a Dyak came to inform me he had killed a large mias, and wanted to know if I would buy it. I inquired which sort it was: he answered by putting his hands on each side his face to intimate it was a pappan. I then asked was it a male or female. He replied, a female. How did he know? Because she had a young one in her arms. I promised to buy the head, but unfortunately he never returned. 1840.

I may add, that in some places the rembi alone is found; at Linga the pappan is unknown. I will not here discuss the craniology of the heads I procured, amounting to eighteen in number; but I may state, that some were said to be males, others females, by the natives who bought them. *One* was positively stated to be a male rembi. The

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1840. greater number of the heads brought were of the pappan, and, from what I learn, I should say that on the rivers near the coast, the pappan is the more common species. The distribution of these animals is confined, which probably arises from deficiency of food. For instance, though they be found in numbers of both species on the Sadong—the rembi alone at Linga—they are likewise found at Sarēbas and Rejang, but unknown in the Sarāwak and Samarahan rivers to the westward, and in Borneo Proper to the eastward. I here subjoin the questions sent by Waterhouse, with the answers annexed, and I now entertain no doubt of the truth of the native distinction of pappan and rembi, and of obtaining sufficient proof to establish it beyond doubt.

1st, Whether, if they distinguish two species, and are acquainted with both sexes of each, the common one is not the larger?

Near the sea coasts, generally speaking, the larger is the more common. In some places, the larger or pappan alone is found; in others, only the smaller or rembi. They are acquainted with both sexes of each. The pappans, male and female, are distinguished by the callosities on the cheeks.

2nd, Whether the natives of Borneo distinguish the male and female orangs by separate names? No.

3d, Whether both species have in the male sex, when adult, the large callosities on the cheeks? No; the pappan alone has it.

4th, Whether the adult males of both species

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have the canines equally large, that is, in proportion to their size, and have the great longitudinal ridge on the upper part of the head equally developed? The canines are in proportion to the size, nearly, if anything, in favour of the pappans. The natives know nothing of the skull. 1840.

This is native information which I can add to.

Descending the hill we took leave of our Dyaks, and got some miles down the river before dark, bringing up in the narrow channel in four fathoms water.

Sept. 17. — Started early, and about twelve reached Simanjang — the pangerans proceeded a short way up the Sadong, whilst I agreed to meet them again at Sangi. Sept. 17.

This halt was absolutely necessary on account of the skeletons we had on board, imperfectly cleaned, which emitted no very savoury odour; the boat, indeed, was a complete charnel house, and the contents in every stage of decay.

Sept. 18. — I was in hopes of getting another mias this morning, but was disappointed. In the afternoon we dropped down to Sangi, to take up our old quarters at the Datu's, whilst waiting the return of the pangerans. Sept. 18.

Sept. 19. Pangerans still absent. Procured a few more skulls, particularly one, positively stated to be that of a male rembi. Sept. 19.

Sept. 20. — The pangerans having arrived, we dropped down the river to Senange, a narrow creek Sept. 20.

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1840. off the mouth of which we brought up. The Orang Kaya Pamanka of the Sibuyows had some men on the look out for us, and at dusk Mr. Williamson and myself got into a small canoe, and were absolutely hauled over a mile and a half of mud by a dozen Dyak men and boys: the conveyance was novel. On arriving at the village we were received at the house of the Tumangong, and thence walked by torch-light over the prostrate trunks of huge trees to the Pamanka. They gave us for supper rice cakes fried crisp in vegetable oil, and plenty of hot and cold water. After this repast we retired to our host's private apartment, and some nice mats were spread for our bed. In one corner of the room lay the chief and his lady, screened from view by a curtain. We occupied the centre of the apartment, and the other corner was filled with the household. Every thing here was of the simplest fashion, but nothing betokening abject poverty. They cultivate rice more than sufficient for their own consumption. The river yields a precarious supply of fish, and the forest a little game. They have their domestic pigs and poultry, and their slight extra wants and luxuries are supplied by the sale of a little bees' wax or birds' nests, which they are at the trouble of collecting for that purpose. The Orang Kaya Pamanka spoke much and earnestly of the great advantage which would accrue to the Dyaks from the residence of European merchants in the country. As it is, they seem to be little oppressed by the

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Malays, except indirectly. Their service is due to the rajah, but evidently on the occasion of the present war was rendered with great reluctance, for the chief complained that they got nothing for it. No taxes are levied on them directly, but the rajah *takes whatever he wants, at whatever price he pleases, and the pangerans take all they can get for nothing at all.* The *revenue* of the country is ruined, as I have said, by the rajah seizing *what he pleases*, and the pangerans *what they can.*

The sword and shield of the chief hung near his bed's head, and their simple household furniture and implements were suspended around; but we had no heads to complete the description, or to excite the ordinary feelings of superstitious horror at being among a wild Dyak community. I rose from my mat in order to inspect the long room or gallery, and there found the men and boys stretched on the bamboo floor, covered with their cloths formed from the bark of the Ippu tree. A few, more wakeful than the rest, raised their heads as I walked past them, and having taken a glance by the expiring flames of the damar torches, sank back again to slumber, without disturbing my promenade. They keep no watch, and trust to their dogs to warn them of the approach of enemies. Their house is partially fortified with logs of trees, and they live always in expectation of an attack from their implacable foes of Serēbas. Having satisfied my curiosity, I returned to my couch, stretched myself with a feeling of secure satisfaction, and, whilst the

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1840. drowsy god flitted over my eyelids, the plumes of the Argus pheasant, which ornamented the sword of the Dyak chief, waved to and fro, and assumed many fantastic shapes, till my senses were lost in sweet oblivion. The next morning, a breakfast of dry rice, hard boiled eggs, and hot water — the last I changed for cold, — was placed before us about seven o'clock. This community consists of from 200 to 300 men — inhabiting two large houses, the largest being about 257 *yards* in length. They have a few brass guns of Borneo manufacture, but most of them are without carriages, and they are so inexpert in the use of them, that they are calculated to terrify the enemy rather than hurt them.

The Orang Kaya Pamanka is a man of intelligence (as before stated), and far removed above the gross prejudice of his tribe. He has no heads in his long house, and he expressed a wish to me that the custom could be abolished; and his sentiments and example must tend towards doing so. I inspected some gold and silver ornaments of their own manufacture, which were neatly worked — flowery patterns, consisting chiefly of bracelets and ear-rings. I may in conclusion mention, what I omitted in its proper place, respecting the omens derived from birds. Whilst at Padong one of the seamen shot a red-breasted bird they call the Papow, which the Dyaks immediately informed us was held in reverence amongst them. I was sorry for this occurrence, lest it might cause them uneasiness,

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but they appeared neither shocked nor surprised at it. I mentioned the circumstance to the Orang Kaya, with the name of the bird, and found him well acquainted with it, and a believer in the superstition. The papow, he told me, was one of three birds they imagined to give warning by their flight or note.

Should they be on a journey, and hear this bird to the left, they would take the road to the right; if heard to the right, they would go to the left; but on occasions of importance, such as a meditated attack on their enemies, if the bird were heard on the left, they returned; but if on the right, the omen was favourable, and they proceeded. If the bird was heard in front, it was a signal that the enemy were at hand; if behind, the omen was considered very bad. Insects have also their influence on the minds of these deluded people. Two of great authority; one called kunding, the other bunsue; the former with a short note, the latter with a long one. The kunding heard in front at the early part of the night is the sign of an enemy, and a Dyak will change his place of rest; heard in the same quarter late at night, the sign is good, especially if the long note of the bunsue be heard high at the same moment. The kunding heard in the rear is the worst omen; in war it induces them to retreat to their own country, without prosecuting any undertaking they may have in view. Beside these birds and insects, they are also guided by snakes in a certain degree; and it shows the

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1840. sincerity of their superstition, that after burning the jungle, and preparing a farm, if *any animal* be found dead upon it they reject the use of the crop. The insects of omen are likewise used to point out the quarter whence a theft has been committed. Their mode of inquiry is curious. They make up a little ciri, and turning to the quarter they suspect, they throw it forward and call out for the insect: if the insect respond from that direction, the theft is charged to the tribe so pointed out; if it fail to answer, they try another quarter.

The range of mountains which extends along the west coast, commences between Sambas and Datu, and has been traced to Kalinkan, and there is little doubt reaches to the extreme north of the island, terminating with Kina Balow and the lofty region said by Dalrymple and others to exist in the vicinity of Malludu. These mountain regions are inhabited by Dyak tribes, of whom I shall proceed to give some additional particulars. Though all the wild people of Borneo are by Europeans called Dyaks, the name, properly, is only applicable to one particular class inhabiting parts of the north-western coast, and the mountains of the interior. I had opportunities of seeing them under the most favourable circumstances for judging not only their manners and habits, but likewise their dispositions, that is, during the difficulties and trials of civil war; and I believe there are but very few tribes which have not come under my notice; and they may all be certainly classed as one race of people, judging by the

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unerring test of language, and on the same ground we should infer them to be linked to the great Polynesian family. Nor is there any peculiarity in physical appearance, manners, or customs, which militates against this conclusion; but from their different localities, and consequent different modes of life, they may be subdivided into land and sea Dyaks; the former inhabiting the mountain region, and the latter dwelling on the rivers contiguous to the coast. The Sibuyow, Balow, Sakarran, and Sarēbas inhabit rivers on the coast, reckoning from the east, in the order they are placed or nearly so.

The Sakarran are fairer in complexion, superior in stature, and better made than any Dyaks I have seen; their countenances, too, are peculiar, — features good, lips thin, and the eyes small and keen; their bodies are spare, and they bear the air of wild and independent people. Some of their prahus carried fifty men, and they plied the paddles with vigour and regularity. They are the most savage of the tribes, the Sarēbas excepted, and delight in head-hunting and pillage, whether by sea or land; but those natives who are addicted to piracy and robbery are exceptions to the general rule, though they come nearer to the account of the Dyak character given by travellers. By sea, the Sakarran and Sarēbas reckon all they fall in with as fair prize, and acknowledge no friends, but in their own waters: they are faithful to their agreements, hospitable, and, it is reported, kind to strangers; but I must not omit that they are held in detesta-

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1840. tion by all the other Dyaks, who, to stigmatise them, remark, "When you meet a Dyak with many rings in his ears, trust him not, for he is a bad man." They are distinguished from the other tribes by the number of rings thus worn. I have counted as many as twelve in one ear, inserted in different holes. Their love of finery is greater than that of the people inland, and in going out on an expedition, they wear caps of red cloth a foot high, square or peaked at the summit, embroidered with beads and shells, ornamented with feathers, and stuck round with pieces of cloth or paper. The spear and the sword comprise their weapons; they have no muskets or fire-arms, and never use the sumpitan. On one occasion a party went from the camp with a vow or determination not to return without procuring a head. They were ornamented highly, after their fashion, and proceeded, with considerable show; but, after a week, they returned unsuccessful, looking starved and fagged, and their finery soiled by the life in the jungle!

The Balows are a plain and simple people: they never decorate their persons fantastically, but their prahus are carved about their high sterns, which distinguish them from the plain boats of Sakarran and Sarēbas. They are represented as very brave, and are engaged in ceaseless warfare with their neighbours, against whom they maintain themselves, though very inferior in number. They are not wanting in those high-sounding titles which mortals arrogate in spite of their weakness. One

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1840.

chief was grandly designated "tukong langit," which, interpreted, means "the walking-stick of the sky."

The Sarēbas are by no means so warlike as the others, and from their great dread of fire-arms, may be kept in subjection by a comparatively small body of Malays. The sound of musketry or cannon was enough to put the whole body to flight; and when they did run, fully the half disappeared, returning to their own homes.

On their backs the men and women carry a neat mat basket, suspended round the forehead, and when it rains, a mat covers the head and the basket, and throws off the rain from their persons. In the woods they cut down a few branches of trees, which they stick to windward, and with a platform of reeds, or bamboos, raise themselves a few inches from the ground; blazing fires complete the encampment; and in a country where so much wet falls, it is no wonder that rheumatism is common amongst them. Their cures are of the simplest kind. I have seen them with a smouldering fire under a bamboo grating, only a foot high, on which the patient sits or sleeps, naked, enveloped in smoke, which would smother a European, and exposed to a temperature Monsieur Chaubert himself would shrink from. The differences between these inland tribes and those of the coast are few. They spoke of a small green bird, and a dark bird, but never showed them to me, though I have known them turn back from a day's work on account of an un-

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1840. favourable omen having been observed. The women amongst them are ill-looking and hard worked; their only peculiarity in dress is a broad belt, or pair of stays formed of the bark of trees or hard wood, bound sometimes with a rim of copper. In short, these numerous tribes may be looked upon as a most unhappy and depressed people, unable to resist their tyrants, and too much attached to their mountains, or too ignorant to fly beyond the reach of their power; but, nevertheless, they present so many good features of character, that their improvement might be rapidly calculated upon.

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CHAP. XVI.

MISSION FROM SAMBAS. — ILLANUN PIRATES. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RAJAH. — PROSPECTS OF SARĀWAK. — RESOURCES OF THE DISTRICT. — MR. BROOKE BUYS A SCHOONER. — SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS. — NATIVE EXPEDITION UP THE RIVER. — THE RAJAH PREVAILED UPON TO ABANDON IT. — AUDIENCE WITH MUDA HASSIM. — MODE OF SPENDING THE DAY. — SARĀWAKIAN CHESS PLAYING. — INTRIGUES AMONG THE CHIEFS. — CHINESE JARS. — FIRST VISITS OF THE CHINESE TO THE ARCHIPELAGO. — TOPOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION. — INLAND TRIBES. — NATIVE IDEAS OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS. — MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE KAYANS. — PHYSIOLOGICAL COMPARISONS. — USE OF THE SUMPITAN. — SWORDS. — RELIGION. — METHOD OF TRADING. — FUNERAL CEREMONIES. — REFLECTIONS. — DIFFICULTIES OF MR. BROOKE'S POSITION. — ENMITY OF MACOTA. — HOSTILE DEMONSTRATIONS. — SUCCESS OF MR. BROOKE'S PLANS. — REFLECTIONS.

THE sphere of foreign politics has been enlarged by the arrival of a brig from Sambas with a man of rank on board, authorised by the sultan to make inquiries into the prospects of trade between the two countries. 1841.

I soon discovered that the mission was entirely an intrigue of Makota's; and the brig was consequently dismissed, with an intimation, on my part, that I was ready to consider the proposals of the sultan of Sambas relative to the opium trade, whenever he sent them to me in form.

The intelligence from the west, however, was a source of real distress to me. A terrible incursion

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1841. had been made by the wild Dyaks of Sakarran into the territory of Sarāwak, burning and destroying the weak tribes, and carrying away their women and children into slavery. The unhappy tribe of San Pro was attacked last month, and, I fear, by the instigation of Sherif-Sahib of Sadung, who is a great encourager of the devastating system, and a confederate of the Illanuns: my hands are *tied* at present, so I must content myself with diplomatic overtures; but should these fail, as I grow *stronger* I will resort to stronger measures — but what a frightful picture is this — murder, robbery, and slavery, close to our British possessions.

Early in January, and shortly after the termination of the rebellion, which for four years had distracted the country, the rajahs, the pangerans, and the "army" broke up from the encampment near Siniavin, and returned to Sarāwak. Here I had an opportunity of seeing a fleet of Illanun pirates, which, by the permission of the rajah, came up the river, and remained for several days at anchor off the town. It was reported that their object was to capture the Royalist, or, at any rate, to carry off her figure-head, represented to be of solid gold. I did not myself credit one word of the story, though I took every precaution for the safety of the vessel. I had frequent interviews with the Illanun chiefs, and occasionally remonstrated with them on the crime of piracy. Their reply was always the same — that they fol-

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lowed the custom and mode of life of their ancestors; and this reminded me that, some years ago, when a number of Sulu pirates were condemned to be hung at Singapore, they coolly observed, "If we had *not* been pirates, our own chiefs would have killed us; and, because we *are* pirates, you kill us: it is the same to us, whatever we do — either way: we die." And certainly I should hesitate to carry the extreme penalty of the law into execution, on men forced into such a line of life by their masters, unless under extraordinary circumstances. Still it is surprising, when I look upon the savages and their calling, to think that no effective measures are taken by European nations for their suppression. Once attack them on their own coast with steamers, and the sea would be cleared. 1841.

I have been waiting, with saint-like patience, for the signature of the papers which declare me "resident at Sarāwak," that is, which grant me permission to live in the province, "to seek profit by trade;" a mere form of words, as I am given to understand by the rajah, in order to satisfy the sultan. I am not very particular as to their tenor, for papers and engagements with these people are but straw; yet I must possess myself of a regular document to prove the feelings and disposition of the rajah.

February 14. — The required papers were delivered to me yesterday, duly signed and sealed, immediately after which I dropped down the river in the Royalist, and am now beating along the Feb. 14.

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1841. coast, bound to Singapore. I have engaged to return in three or four months, and to bring a vessel for trade, laden with a mixed cargo for the Sarāwak market. The rajah, on his part, promises to build me a house, and to procure antimony ore in return for my goods; besides which, he also engages to renew the negotiations relative to giving me the government of the country, and to assist my plan of gradually developing its resources.

March 31. *Singapore, March* 31. — I have not determined on settling in Borneo without the most mature and serious deliberation, and without seeing a fair prospect of success, and if successful, of no ordinary advancement. It is not only on private views of advantage that I would act, but that I would, generally speaking, seek rather to add to my reputation than my fortune. To develope the resources of a large country is a task I should be most proud to accomplish; and whether we look to the benefits which must accrue to the natives, or to the extension of British trade, it is equally calculated to rouse our best energies. The country of Sarāwak is the finest conceivable; and the influx of Chinese settlers renders its rapid improvement not only possible, but certain, if not impeded by unhappy causes, which it is equally impossible to foresee or calculate upon. Even looking on the undertaking in its worst light, and supposing that, after a year or two, I find it impracticable to accomplish what I so much desire, the attempt will, and must, conduce

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1841.

greatly to ameliorate the native condition, and give them a taste for British manufactures, and some appreciation of a just and protecting government. Another plan might have been adopted, without my engaging in the trade of the place; but on consideration, though rather leaning to it, I rejected the alternative.

I shall be able to *preserve the peace*, and gradually to increase the exports, by giving a fair price to those classes who seek the produce of the soil, — in political economy, the productive classes. The great evil, the principal cause, which prevents the advancement of Malay countries is, that merchants and traders must deal with the chiefs or pangerans, who extort from the poor, especially the Dyaks, out of most of their goods, without offering any equivalent value; the consequence is, that the population at large will not be at the trouble of working or seeking produce for which they get nothing. I have known goods worth twenty dollars at Singapore, for which the Dyaks received *one* teacup full of salt. Can we be surprised that they will not labour? The measures to be taken must be at first purely remedial, and suited to native ideas and feelings. The local superintendence is at present in the hands of two Patingis and a Bandar, who *squeeze* the poor inhabitants, and are in turn squeezed by their superiors. The rajah, Muda Hassim, is, however, opposed to this evil, and, without the energy to correct it, desires to return to the better government enjoined by their written

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1841. law, or Ondong-Ondong; with his consent and approbation, therefore, I am to carry two reforms into execution, founded on this written law of the land. The first is, to abolish and forbid all arbitrary exactions; and the second, to allow to all classes the right of trade and labour.

As a consequence to these changes, a light, fixed tax must be imposed on rice, and a salary given to the Patingis, and both the Patingis and the poorer classes exempted from all demands from superior natives. Here I shall rest for the present; but even this a foreigner could not do alone; and in making the arrangements, the rajah is to promulgate and take the entire responsibility of the measure, whilst I am to see it carried into execution by personally visiting and encouraging the poorer natives, especially the Dyaks. I believe we shall have little difficulty in this preliminary and necessary change, as the local officers as well as the poor will be greatly benefited by it. The vegetable oil here will most likely turn out a valuable commercial article. I am told it may be had in large quantities, and the price is low. There are many mineral productions of value; in short, I feel convinced that all men of intelligence will watch with interest and forward my undertaking, which is indeed the only feasible way of extending our trade and knowledge in Borneo. If the Government could be roused to make a commercial treaty with Borneo, or even send a complimentary mission, with a few presents, it would strengthen the

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kindly feelings with which the English are regarded in Borneo. For myself I ask nothing, and if I do make any future appeal, it will be merely on the general advantages likely to result; and those advantages, commercial, political, scientific, and above all *philanthropic*, must, one would think, decide the question with rational men. 1841.

April 10. — Two months have slipped away, and I am again at sea in the "Straits," bound to Sarāwak. My stay at Singapore may be briefly narrated. I took a small bungalow on Mount Erskine, and lived there very contentedly, enjoying the hospitality of the Governor and residents, and mixing much with Napier, Elliot, and the military. My principal object, however, was to procure a vessel for the trade of Sarāwak and at length I have succeeded in buying the schooner Swift, of ninety tons, for the great price of 5000 dollars. She had little to recommend her, but the case was urgent; and having got the cargo on board as quickly as possible, the squadron sailed, viz., Royalist and Swift, and we are now steering a course to the eastward. April 10.

Sarāwak, *August* 1. — My rough notes and remarks of the last four months are before me. From these I will draw up a summary of my proceedings. Aug. 1.

On my first arrival here I was received with the usual honours and salutes, and renewed kindness on the part of the rajah and people generally; and promises were made that the antimony ore should

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1841. be brought down with the least possible delay, in exchange for the goods in the hold of the Swift. Great, however, was my indignation at discovering, that the house, which the rajah had engaged to have in readiness for me, was not even commenced. Threats of leaving caused this forgetfulness to be remedied; and, about three weeks ago, I took possession of my wooden tenement, and now write in my *library*. As to the antimony, I saw no prospect of its delivery; and the Swift becoming leaky, I was obliged to consent to the discharge of the cargo to the shore, and it was accordingly delivered over to the care of the rajah, on his assurance and promises that the ore should be brought directly, and I had the less hesitation in consenting, from the knowledge that it could be obtained with facility and at little expense.

The operation of landing the goods was carried on from morning till night with the greatest care and regularity. At last, the whole cargo was fairly landed and distributed, and from that moment a complete change came over the spirit of the chiefs. I was forgotten, laid aside, and nothing done towards supplying the antimony. Still I clung to the belief that the apathy of the native character was the main-spring of this ungrateful conduct, and that I was not the victim of foul play and treachery; but weeks passed away without producing any change; and though determined to arm myself with patience, I could not forget that the heavy expense of two vessels was upon me. Just at this

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time I was mortified at observing a fleet of above a hundred prahus, containing between two and three thousand wild Dyaks and Malays, sweep past my house with the intention of proceeding up the river, nominally for the purpose of attacking a hostile tribe in the mountains, but actually, I knew full well, to slaughter the inoffensive people on the banks, and procure slaves and plunder. 1841.

I instantly repaired on board the yacht, sent a firm remonstrance to Muda Hassim, and succeeded in preventing the expedition, by which measure hundreds of lives were probably spared. It was also at this period that information reached me, through a native channel, of an English ship having been wrecked on the N.W. coast, and that the crew were prisoners at the capital. I entreated the rajah to exert himself in their behalf, and to send a person of rank to the sultan with a letter expressive of my anxiety for their release. Day after day passed without his arriving at any decision, though promises were abundant, till at last I determined no longer to trust to unmeaning phrases, but to despatch the Royalist, on my own account, for that object. A portion of the antimony ore had now been shipped on board the Swift, and there being no probability of a further remittance, I decided on sending her also to Singapore, and both vessels sailed accordingly, for their different destinations, on the 25th of July; my three companions and myself remaining on shore at my house. This arrangement completed, I demanded an audience

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1841. with the rajah, who had been shamming sick for the last three weeks, and had shut himself up within the sacred precincts of the harem. I now felt aware that fraud had been added to the treachery of the pangerans, who had been deceiving me from the commencement, and who, in addition to cheating me out of half the cargo, had also received five hundred dollars as an instalment for placing the government into my hands.

When the audience took place I pointed out the injustice of the rajah's conduct in detaining my vessel so long; also, the injustice of withholding the antimony ore, the delay in assisting me to release my countrymen, the cruelty of keeping the women prisoners contrary to his promise to me at the termination of the rebellion, and his utter want of faith respecting the negotiations for the government of the country; and, in short, placed the whole of my grievances before him in unmistakeable language. It was of no avail, since, with more abundant promises, I was as far as ever from receiving substantial justice.

In the meantime, however, I had not been altogether idle, having made an excursion into the interior, and succeeded in obtaining much novel information respecting the aborigines of the central part of this vast island. But, in the first place, a word respecting the Malay rulers. I am daily becoming more and more acquainted with their character. Their own nature is one tissue of deceit, cunning, and intrigue, and they believe

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every one to be made of the same materials. For my own part, I cannot play the hypocrite, even if I wished it. I cannot pretend a friendship where I feel none; and, indeed, in my present extraordinary position, it would be detrimental to my own interests to do so, because a European should never stoop to the arts of the natives, and my standing here must be a commanding and independent one, or none at all. I will carry on no system of humbug with the Rajah Muda Hassim himself, neither will I allow him to carry it on with me. I suffered much at his hands on my first arrival, and bore patiently his injustice and want of faith; but it must not be again repeated. My spare hours are devoted to studying the language, reading, and chart-making; and my companions are constantly employed — some stuffing animals and birds, others in teaching our young Bugis and Dyak youths their letters, and instructing them in copying my vocabularies. Nine is the breakfast-hour; four, the time for dinner, after which we stroll out till dark, and drink tea at eight. Of wine and grog we have none, and I believe we are all better without it, retiring happily to our beds about ten, ready for that repose which will fit us for the labour of the morrow. 1841.

I have also been engaged in watching some of the head-men amusing themselves at chess, which is a favourite game with them. They are really skilful in playing it after their own fashion.

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1841. It is called main chatur, or game of chequers. The king is the rajah; the queen — mantri, or minister; the bishop — gajah, or elephant; the knight — kudah, or horseman; the castle — ter, or chariot; and the pawn — bidak, or foot-soldier. The check is expressed by asah, and checkmate by mati. So far it resembles the nomenclature of other Malay countries. Crawford informs us that the Javanese are hardly acquainted with the game save by report, which certainly goes far to show that it was not introduced by the Hindús; whilst the Malays are passionately attached to it, having in more recent times acquired it from the Telingas, who, from the evidence of language, must have taken it from the Persians, the names being in that language. For instance, "chatur," the name of the game, is Persian and not Indian; "sah," check, is the Persian word "shah," and the only way in which the Indian islanders can pronounce it; "bidah," a pawn, is but a corruption of "piadah," a foot-soldier; and "mat" is the true Persian word for checkmate, borrowed by ourselves, and more correctly by the French. These are Crawford's reasons — and very substantial ones — not only to prove that chess was not introduced by the Hindús into the Archipelago, but that they have no title to the invention of that noble game; and, as he adds, "Sir William Jones acknowledges that no account of such a game exists in the writings of the Brahmans," I can see little to oppose to this reasoning; and I think it may be pronounced that

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chess, having been invented in Persia, travelled thence to India, and, subsequently, from the Telinga country to the Archipelago. 1841.

I am unacquainted with the game as played by the Persians; but, as neither Marsden, nor Crawfurd, describes the Malay method, which differs considerably from that of Europe, I shall here insert it. The board is placed in the same way, and the queens stand to the right of their respective kings, which brings each queen opposite to her adverse king. This is the only difference in placing the pieces. The moves are precisely similar to our own, with the exception of the king's. The king, when checked for the first time, has the right of making the knight's move, or to move two squares. After this sally he is reduced to the *same powers* as a *European king*. This first move (in which he can of course take), on being checked, alters the game considerably, as one great object then becomes to prevent the check of your own king early in the game, and to gain a check of your adversary. The usual, and apparently the most approved method amongst them, is to open the game from the queen's castle's pawn, and, pushing out the queen's knight's and the queen's bishop's pawns, to manœuvre the queen behind them. It appears to me that all this greatly cramps the game, in some measure renders it more *tricky*, and prevents the real strength of the various pieces from being fully developed in order to guard against a check; for it will be evident, if the king

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1841. be once checked, he is deprived of one great advantage which your adversary still holds. Castling is not allowed except in two moves, the first being the castle's move up to the king, and on the king receiving a check he can exercise his right of jumping to the inside of the castle.

The remaining difference in the game is the play of the pawns: a pawn moved out cannot pass an adversary's pawn, his first move being restricted to one square in this case; and a pawn having been pushed up into the adversary's game, he cannot call a piece except on the castle's square, the pawn arriving at the other squares being obliged, before he gains a queen or piece, to make two extra moves; for instance, should a pawn have arrived at the queen's bishop's square, he may gain a queen or other piece by moving to the knight's square; and lastly to the castle's first square, or at his option to the knight's first square, and then optional either to the bishop's second or the castle's second, or else to the queen and king's first, or queen's first and king's second. In fact, this is a delay rather than a prevention, as, from the number of squares which may be taken, it is extremely difficult to guard them all. I have played several games, and made many inquiries, but have not yet discovered any other difference in the Bornean and European games.

I must now return to subjects of more moment. Intrigues are at work which I cannot at present unravel; but I perceive that another sort of game

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1841.

is playing among the chiefs, whose object is to drive me out of the country by any means, and to involve me in a dispute with the Dutch authorities at Sambas. It will not succeed. I see through it thus far, and am prepared to meet it. I have already pointed out the want of candour, and the deviation from the straight path, of some who called themselves the friends of better government. I have told them that, however perfect their deceit, it will never succeed with me, and I have sent them from my presence, perplexed, ashamed, and trembling. But the atrocities committed in the interior, and along the coast, are frightful, and yet the latter might, at any rate, be suppressed. Robbery, plunder, murder, and slavery, close to our own—to British possessions!

The sultan of Sambas has resigned all claims to the antimony ore, and is anxious to arrange about the opium; he, however, whilst sending me many polite messages, declines writing, as he thinks it would not be agreeable to the Dutch. As for the opium trade, I have no intention, whatever, of entering into any speculation on my own account.

Some Dyaks, lately from the interior, have brought one of the celebrated Jars; I do not buy it, since it is far too dear as a mere curiosity. It stands three feet high, and is narrow both at the top and bottom, with small rings round the mouth, for the purpose of suspension. The colour is light brown, traced faintly with dragons, and its chief merit and proof of antiquity is the perfect smoothness of the

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1841. bottom. The ware itself appears coarse and glazed, and those in which the dragon are in alto relievo are valued at a hundred reals. They are not held sacred by the Dyaks as objects of worship, or as venerable relics, though none can be manufactured at the present time; but are collected as a proof of riches, in the same way that the paintings of old masters are in Europe.

There can be no shadow of doubt that the manufacture is Chinese, since similarly formed dragons are unknown in any country except China. They are the real grotesque monsters peculiar to that nation, and were probably introduced many centuries ago. I am struck by a remark of Gibbon, which, though it proves nothing, may assist us in forming an idea of the navigation of the Archipelago in those days, or as far back as the time of Jenghis Khan. Forty-five years after the incursion of that monarch into China, his grandson, Kublai, reduced the kingdoms of Korea, Tonquin, Cochin China, Pegu, Bengal, and Tibet.

"He explored the Indian Ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships; they sailed in sixty-eight days, *most probably to the Isle of Borneo*, under the Equinoctial line, and though they returned not without spoil or glory, the emperor was disappointed that the savage king had escaped his hands." I may here remark, that as early as the year 1279, we have evidence of the Moguls having navigated to the Indian Ocean; and, immediately preceding this passage, we have an account of the Chinese fleet of

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Song. The conquest of China by Jenghis Khan must first have instructed the Tartars in the art of navigating the ocean; and it may yet, from Chinese historians, be discovered, that it was at that period the Celestials themselves first visited the Archipelago. I look forward with confidence to our increasing knowledge of the literature of this ancient people to supply much valuable information on these subjects. I have lately, when my other occupations admitted, been collecting and arranging much matter respecting the interior of Borneo, into which I hope some day to penetrate myself; but, as this *may* not be practicable, I will at once note down what I think is curious and interesting. 1841.

From the interior of the Sarāwak river, it is one day's journey to a tributary of the Pontiana or Kassavas, descending which for two days the traveller reaches Sangion (Sāng-ow), situated nearly at the junction of the two streams. From the upper course of the Sadong river, the journey across the mountains is only half a day to the same tributary stream, and nearer to Sangion than the route from Sarāwak.

From Lingu the journey across is one day to the main river, above the junction of the tributary stream.

We may reckon a day's journey over the mountains at fifteen or twenty miles. The routes from the three rivers before spoken of are in frequent use among the natives, and though the distances may be incorrect, the facts are beyond

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1841. question; and this tributary stream joining the Pontiana river, must take its rise from the range of mountains before mentioned, namely those running about a degree inland from the N.W. coast; it is, therefore, probable that the great rivers of Sambas, Sirkawan, and Landak have their sources between this tributary of the Pontiana and the sea, and therefore may be traced to the same range. The natives state that the Sambas river becomes small and rocky after ten days' ascent, and probably reaches the mountains to the south-westward of Sarāwak.

Sangion is stated to be a Malay rajahate, not far distant from Kappawas, which river, at this junction, is larger than the Sarāwak. Many petty states, with towns and villages, are represented to be on its banks, but I cannot collect their names.

In this part of the interior several lakes also exist; the principal one is Salombow, but I could not ascertain minutely its exact locality. I was also informed, that the interior of the Bangar river was not above a few days' journey from the Pontiana, and that the distance from the former to the Koti was, as nearly as possible, the same. Of the general truth of these statements I have no doubt; for the three streams, as far as we can judge, diverge nearly from a common centre, and from the direction of the Pontiana to the N.E., and that of the Koti river to the northward of west, a third river between them, into the interior in either or any direction, must bring them not far

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asunder. Much additional information, from people of the Bintulu and Mezimen has also been given me. The residence of these tribes is on the rivers bearing these names, and contiguous to the River Barram, within the point called Tanjong Barram. The sources of these three rivers approximate, and there is an easy communication from one to the other, and the country around is inhabited by Kayans, who are represented as the most powerful people in the interior, divided into numerous tribes, but bearing distinctive marks of near consanguinity and national character. 1841.

This race may be said to possess the whole central portion of Borneo extending towards either coast as far as the Malay possessions. They are, however, entirely independent, paying neither tax nor nominal allegiance to the sovereigns either of Borneo Proper or Koti. They are not a tattooed race, nor do they use the sumpitan, their only arms being the long spear and shield; the women, however, are generally tattooed from the waist to the elbow only. They are represented as powerful, just, hospitable, and not unfriendly to strangers; but, at the same time, it is not concealed that they are severe in punishing faults, or culpable breaches of their customs, more especially with regard to their women. The Malays do not much frequent their country, on this account; and many lose their lives in so doing, quite forgetting that they are amongst a high-minded and powerful nation, and not in the

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1841. country of the subdued and oppressed Dyaks. As the mode of expression of a native conveys his ideas better than any general description could do, I shall here use the words of my informant, Panglima Dallam. I asked if they would permit a white man to enter their territory? he replied, "Certainly, and would be glad to see him, provided he did them no injury." Have they a sufficiency of food? "Yes; they have plenty of food and are rich, and you would never know want amongst them, for they give every body that comes to their country as much rice, fowls, goats, and pigs as they can eat. Camphor and bees' wax abound in their land; indeed, most of those articles find their way from thence to the coast. They trade particularly in all kinds of cloth, gongs, brass, wares, &c., but salt and tobacco have no sale with them. They are very numerous, and, whilst travelling among them, each night you rest with a different tribe."

To return to my narrative, however: Panglima Dallam assured me he would answer for my life if I would accompany him; and I only wish I could find an opportunity, but at present I cannot leave my post of duty.

The Kayans marry only one wife, and their dead are placed in coffins and hung on high trees.

From the interior of Bintulu or Barram to the Pontiana river is fifteen days' journey, the ascent from the mouth of the stream to the mountain occupying ten days. Travelling amongst the

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Kayans for ten days across the country from the Pontiana, brings you to the river of Banjar-Massin: the aspect of the country is represented to be woody, but dry, with mountains or hills. From the Banjar-Massin to the interior of the Koti is ten days' journey likewise; there are some lakes, but not large, as in half a day you may pull in a canoe from one end to the other. The Panglima has travelled across the country many times, and often lived for a considerable while amongst the Kayans. From the interior of Koti river you may journey northwards to the settlements of the Magindanos on the north-east coast. There are other rivers of smaller note, but their exact positions I cannot ascertain. 1841.

On the whole, I think I can trust this man's account: it is derived from an eye-witness, and has been confirmed by other eye-witnesses, and from a people far more truthful than the Malays.

The regularly tattooed people do not appear to be so numerous as I conceived. They are said, however, to abound on the Rejang river *, and are there called Panong and Kanowit*, and use the sumpitan; but as the several tribes of Dyaks, and the still more numerous Kayans, are not tattooed, and do not use the sumpitan, the custom appears not to be so general as I had imagined.

Pari is situated in the Kayan country, and a great

* I visited this river and these people in June, 1846, five years after this description, and found the Kanowits as here described. — ED.

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1841. depôt for trade. Between this and Banjar-Massin river are the following tribes of the same race — Lapar Timĭ, Lugŭt, Gahat, Daruhinow; and between the Banjar-Massin and the Koti, the Kajang-Twan, Bakar, Poalim, *cum multis aliis*.

These people do not make petty excursions for the sake of obtaining heads, as do the Sarēbas and Sakarrans, but attack countries in a wholesale way, so that their irruptions would be easier to repell than the sly, insidious attacks of the Dyaks. From what I have myself seen of these warriors, I am certainly impressed with a conviction of their superiority in character and conduct to the Malays and Dyaks. In stature they are of moderate height, but stout-limbed and fleshy. Their complexion is fairer than any of the other tribes; their faces round, fat, and good-tempered; eyes small and well-formed, and mouth expressive; and altogether, with very few characteristics of the Malays, certainly much better-looking men. This tribe of Kayans is moreover described as being much more expert with the sumpitan than other Dyaks; their usual mode of warfare being rather to lie in wait for their enemy in the jungle, or to track him through the bush. To the sumpitan a spear is attached. The arrows are contained in a bamboo case hung at their side, and at the bottom of this quiver is the poison of the upas. The arrow is a thin piece of wood, sharp-pointed, and inserted in a socket, made of the pith of a tree, which fits the tube of the blow-pipe. They carry a small ca-

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DYAK BLOWING THE SUMPITAN.

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labash for these arrow-heads, and on going into action prepare a sufficient number, and fresh dip the points in the poison, as its deadly influence does not continue long. When they face an enemy, the box at the side is open; and, whether advancing or retreating, they fire the poisoned missiles with great rapidity and precision: some hold four spare arrows between the fingers of the hand which grasps the sumpitan, whilst others take their side-case. 1841.

In advancing, the sumpitan is carried at the mouth and elevated, and they will discharge at least five arrows to one compared with a musket. Beyond a distance of twenty yards they do not shoot with certainty from the lightness of the arrow, but I have frequently seen them practise at the above-named range, and they usually struck near the centre of the crown, none of the arrows being more than an inch or two from each other. On a calm day, the utmost range may be a hundred yards. The poison is considered deadly by the Kayans, but the Malays do not agree in this belief. My own impression is, that the consequences resulting from a wound are greatly exaggerated, though if the poison be fresh, death may occasionally ensue; but decidedly, when it has been exposed for any time to the air it loses its virulence. My servant was wounded in the foot by an arrow which had been kept about two months; blood flowed from the puncture, which caused me considerable alarm; but sulphuric acid being applied in conjunction

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1841. with caustic, directly afterwards, he felt no bad effects whatever.

All the tribes who use the sumpitan, from their peculiar mode of fighting, and the dread of the weapon, are called Nata Hutan, or "Wood devils." Besides the sumpitan they also wear the "Ilang," or sword, which is carved at the handle in the rude shape of a horse's head, and ornamented with tufts of hair, red or black; the blades of these swords are remarkable, one side being convex, the other concave. They are usually very short, but of good metal and fine edge. These warriors wear coats of deer hide, and caps of basket-work, some fantastically decorated; and a shield hung over their backs of stout wood, in addition to the weapons already mentioned, forms their equipment for service. The few who served in the civil war were considered the "flower of my army," and it is really curious to witness their movements when the order is given to go out to skirmish, — one by one, with a quick pace, yet steady and silent tread, they glide into the bushes or long grass, gain the narrow paths, and gradually disappear in the thickest jungle.

Of their religion I could learn but little: some of them have been converted to the faith of Islam, and the rest appeared ignorant and quite indifferent on the subject, whenever I endeavoured to converse upon it. Like the Dyaks, however, they marry but one wife, are partial to pork, and have scarcely any prejudices. Their manners are quiet, staid, and not in the slightest degree importunate or in-

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1841.

trusive, and their character certainly more energetic than any other class of the aborigines.

Their musical instrument is a bunch of reeds stuck into a calabash, with three or four notes: the sound is soft and pretty, and equal to any rude instrument of the kind. Their dance is performed with the sword and shield, and consists of going through their mode of attack and defence: it is quite different from the dance common to Sarāwak, or that of the Illanuns, though all alike represent a mimic warfare. I mention these brief particulars of this highly interesting people, as they are very numerous and of great antiquity, and their history has been, hitherto, a sealed book to Europeans. If the mass are equal to the specimens I have myself seen and examined, I declare them at once to be a nation deserving of attention and commanding respect: and what a field is here for research!

Their character for honesty and a faithful discharge of their engagements may be gathered from the system adopted in all mercantile transactions. A trader from the coast, whether Malay or Dyak, when he ascends the river with his small boats, stops at an assigned place, and sends word of his arrival, with a description of his tribe, object, and cargo, to the chief, who orders a party of his people to bring the goods to the village; and though this may be four or five days' journey in the interior, it is done without the slightest article being pilfered. The merchant entirely loses sight of his wares, which are carried off by the Kayans,

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1841. and he is himself guided by a body of the superior members of the tribe. On arriving at the village, a house is allotted for his use, his merchandise is placed carefully in the same habitation, every civility is shown him, and he incurs no expense. After a few days' residence, he moves his goods to the mansion of the chief, the tribe assemble, and *all* the packages are opened. Presents are made to the head men, who likewise have the right, according to their precedence, of choosing what they please to purchase; the price is afterwards fixed, and engagements made for payment in bees' wax, camphor, or birds' nests. The purchasers then scatter themselves in the woods to seek for these articles, and the merchant remains in his house feeding on the fat of the land for a month or six weeks, when the engagements being fulfilled, he departs a richer man than he came; his acquired property being safely carried to his boats by the same people. If he has a large cargo and proposes going farther into the interior, they carry his goods to the boundary of the next tribe, and he returns at the period agreed upon to receive the price of his commodities.

The Malays assured me that these adventures were so profitable, that after giving *one third* of the cargo to the chiefs, there was a very handsome return on the rest; and what a Malay calls a handsome profit cannot be less than 300 per cent. I have already given an account of the usual mode of interment amongst the Kayans generally, but

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there is a particular tribe, whose mode of burial is so curious, that I will describe it more fully. 1841.

When a man dies, his friends and relatives meet in the house, and take their usual seats around the room. The deceased is then brought in attired in his best clothes, with a cigar fixed in the mouth, and being placed on the mat in the same manner as he would have arranged himself when alive, his betel-box is set by his side. The friends go through the forms of conversing with him, and offer him the best advice concerning his future proceedings, and then, having feasted, the body is deposited in a large coffin, and kept in the house for several months. At the end of this time, the friends and relatives again assemble, and the coffin is taken out, and deposited on a high pole or tree in a particular direction. The deceased, during the procession, is repeatedly cautioned to beware he does not lose his way: — "Follow the road (they say) till it branches in three directions; be careful in selecting the centre path, for this will conduct you to your own country, whilst that to the right leads to Borneo, and that to the left to the sea."

After many similar cautions, the coffin is deposited, and the assembly separates. This tribe of Kayans are described as exceedingly wild, but their superstitions go, at any rate, to prove a belief in a future state. Oh that the banner of civilisation could be unfurled amongst them! If the resources of their country could be developed by a more enlarged trade, — if wants could be created and their

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1841. condition ameliorated, — if the disgusting feature of head-hunting could be softened down to its gradual abolition, it would be a proud reflection for any man. It is a task to which I would willingly devote my life, my energies, and my fortune; but I fear the resources requisite are greater than I can, unassisted, command. How many, with wealth superfluous, might enter upon this task with better prospect of success, and with comparative ease of mind, which narrow means — the *res angusta* — will not allow; but still, as I am here, I feel, as it were, the trumpet-call of Providence leading me on as an instrument; and if partial success attend me — if I become but the pioneer — if others are doomed to reap where I have sown, — still will I be content with this. That such an undertaking is meritorious and innocent, all must allow; but all cannot know the thorns in the path, the unceasing troubles which attend the endeavour — the temper, fortitude, and carelessness of life which it requires; to say nothing of the toils and frequent disappointments which it constantly entails.

Be it so: I will work on, and if I fail — if I curtail my future means — I shall have the satisfactory reflection of a high duty performed, the fruit of which must, some time or other, become apparent; and reflection and conscience will help to support me in failure, and whisper that my countrymen will one day appreciate my labour and my sacrifices.

Sept. 1. *September* 1. — It may appear incomprehensible that I should, for a moment, have put implicit

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faith in the shallow promises of the native chiefs; and I will therefore state that I undertook an enterprise which I knew full well required both time and money, from the conviction that, if only enabled to maintain my position as resident in the country for a few months, with free intercourse with the people at large, my influence over these semi-barbarians would imperceptibly increase, and that I should eventually enlist the feeling of the mass of the population on my side, and, thus backed, be ready to seize upon the first favourable opening to enforce my claims upon the government of the province. My hopes, hitherto, had certainly failed at the point where I thought myself most secure, namely, in the personal regard felt towards me by the rajah, and I am still at a loss to account for his conduct, since I really do not give him credit for a head long enough to deceive and cheat me on such an extended scheme. It is contrary to the operations of the native mind, and in point of money matters the pangēran has shown no greediness, though I believe him to be both extravagant and careless. My greatest enemy I know to be Makota, who, with a few other leading men, resists all my attempts to induce Muda Hassim to fulfil his engagements. They are well aware that were the government of the country once legally placed in my hands under the seal of the sultan's uncle, I should commence the work of reformation, and no longer permit their misdeeds and tyrannical behaviour towards the Dyaks. My means are, indeed, 1841.

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1841. very limited, but with the funds from the sale of the yacht I shall have ready money sufficient to lay out in improvements, and in giving employment to labourers. So I will continue the battle with the hope of shortly clearing the way: the case is not yet desperate.

Whatever may be the result, I am determined to go forward, and, sooner than recede, will, as a last extremity, try my strength against Der Makota and the enemies of civilisation. Meanwhile, the Honourable Company's steamer, Diana, has arrived from Singapore, sent here by the governor to communicate with me, and then to proceed to the capital to demand the release of the wrecked British subjects. I have myself received a letter from Mr. Gill, chief mate of the Sultana, informing me of the total destruction of that vessel by lightning in the China seas, and of the safe arrival of part of the officers, passengers, and crew at Bruné, where they were made prisoners by the sultan, and cruelly treated. Mr. Gill and a few others, for the purpose of procuring ransom money, had received permission to make the voyage to Singapore, and after many narrow escapes had reached Sirhassan in the South Natuna Islands, where they were detained by the approach of a fleet of Illanun pirates cruising in the offing.

Oct. 1. *October* 1.—Events of great importance have occurred during the last month. I will shortly narrate them. The advent of the Royalist and Swift and a second visit from the Diana, on her

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return from Bruné with the shipwrecked crew of the Sultana, strengthened my position, as it gave evidence that the Singapore authorities were on the alert, and otherwise did good to my cause by creating an impression amongst the natives of my power and influence with the governor of the Straits' settlements. Now, then, was my time for pushing measures to extremity against my subtle enemy the arch-intriguer Makota. I had previously made several strong remonstrances, and urged for an answer to a letter I had addressed to Muda Hassim, in which I had recapitulated in detail the whole particulars of our agreement, concluding by a positive demand either to allow me to retrace my steps by repayment of the sums which he had induced me to expend, or to confer upon me the grant of the government of the country according to his repeated promises; and I ended by stating that if he would not do either one or the other, I *must find means to right myself*. Thus did I, for the first time since my arrival in the land, present anything in the shape of a menace before the rajah, my former remonstrances only going so far as to threaten to take away my own person and vessels from the river. 1841.

My ultimatum had gone forth, and I prepared for active measures; but the conduct of Makota himself soon brought affairs to a crisis: he was determined at all hazards to drive me from the country, and to involve Muda Hassim in such pecuniary difficulties as effectually to prevent his

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1841. payment of my debt. Makota dared not openly attack me, so he endeavoured to tamper with my servants, and, by threats and repeated acts of oppression, actually prevented all persons who usually visited me either on board or on shore from coming near me. His spies watched every party supposed to be well inclined towards me, and they were punished without reason or mercy, and finally, some villain had been induced to attempt to poison my interpreter by putting arsenic in his rice. The agents of Makota were pointed out as the guilty parties. I laid my depositions before the rajah, and demanded an investigation. My demand, as usual, was met by vague promises of future inquiry, and Makota seemed to triumph in the success of his villany; but the moment for action had now arrived. My conscience told me that I was bound no longer to submit to such injustice, and I was resolved to test the strength of our respective parties. Repairing on board the yacht, I mustered my people, explained my intentions and mode of operation, and having loaded the vessel's guns with grape and canister, and brought her broadside to bear, I proceeded on shore with a detachment fully armed, and, taking up a position at the entrance of the rajah's palace, demanded and obtained an immediate audience. In a few words I pointed out the villany of Makota, his tyranny and oppression of all classes, and my determination to attack him by force, and drive him from the country. I explained to the rajah that

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several chiefs and a large body of Siniawan Dyaks were ready to assist me, and that the only course left to prevent bloodshed was immediately to proclaim me governor of the country. 1841.

This unmistakeable demonstration had the desired effect: a resistance, indeed, on his part would have been useless, for the Chinese population and the inhabitants of the town generally remained perfectly neutral. None joined the party of Macota, and his paid followers were not more than twenty in number. Under the guns of the Royalist, and with a small body of men to protect me personally, and the great majority of all classes with me, it is not surprising that the negotiation proceeded rapidly to a favourable issue. The document was quickly drawn up, sealed, signed, and delivered; and on the 24th of September, 1841, I was declared Rajah and Governor of Sarāwak amidst the roar of cannon, and a general display of flags and banners from the shore and boats on the river.

December 31. — From the time of my accession to the government to this date, I have remained quietly at Sarāwak, gradually informing myself of the capabilities and requirements of the country. What I have already been enabled to do in the work of improving the condition of the Dyaks, is consolatory. I have obtained the release of the wives and children of the Siniawans, more than a hundred in number, so long detained by the rajah, and I have arrested a party in the interior whilst engaged in plundering sago from an inof- Dec. 31.

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1841. fensive tribe; and even should my influence in the country at large effect nothing beyond saving the lives and property of the weak and persecuted, I shall yet have been well employed, and may pillow my head with this reflection, when the mere gifts of fortune would not afford the same feeling of pure gratification. I have also succeeded in opening a regular court of justice, at which I preside, assisted by the rajah's brothers and by the Patingi and Tumongong, and my arrangements appear to give satisfaction to the natives.

Difficulty following upon difficulty; the dread of pecuniary failure; the doubt of receiving support or assistance: this and much more presents itself to my mind. But I have tied myself to the stake: I have heaped faggots around me. I stand upon a cask of gunpowder, and if others bring the torch I shall not shrink. I feel within me the firm, unchangeable conviction of doing right, which nothing can shake. I see the benefits I am conferring. The oppressed, the wretched, the enslaved, have found in me their only protector. They now hope and trust; and they shall not be disappointed whilst I have life to uphold them. God has so far used me as a humble instrument of his hidden Providence; and whatever be the result, whatever my fate, I know the example will not be thrown away. I know it tends to a good end in His own time. He can open a path for me through all difficulties, raise me up friends who will share with me in the task, awaken the energies

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of the great and powerful, so that they may protect this unhappy people. I trust it may be so: but if God wills otherwise; if the time be not yet arrived; if it be the Almighty's will that the flickering taper shall be extinguished ere it be replaced by a steady beacon, I submit, in the firm and humble assurance that His ways are better than my ways, and that the term of my life is better in His hands than in my own. 1841.

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CHAP. XVII.

ARRIVAL OF DESPATCHES. — CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT. — CODE OF LAWS FOR THE PROVINCE. — SANTAH COTTAGE.—PLANTATIONS.—DIAMOND MINES.—SUNTAH RIVER. — METHOD OF WORKING THE DIAMOND MINES. — HAJJI IBRAHIM.—WARM SPRING. — THE KAPULLAH TREE. — NATURAL HISTORY OF THE ARA TREE. — RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE DUTCH, THE SULTAN OF SAMBAS, AND THE CHINESE. — CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE. — DIVISIONS OF THE POPULATION.— STATISTICS OF POPULATION. — ANNUAL PRODUCE OF THE WEST COAST. — SUPPLY OF GOLD.—COMPANIES FOR TRADE.—AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE ANTIMONY ORE. — CONFERENCE. — OPPOSITE ARGUMENTS. — END OF CONFERENCE. — VISIT FROM THE PANGAWA OF SUNDA. — TRADITIONS OF THE CREATION OF MAN. — DYAKS FORMERLY SUBJECT TO JAVA. — DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

1842. Feb. 2. *February* 2.—THE N.E. monsoon is blowing with great violence, and a few days ago the Royalist came in from Singapore, having had a narrow escape from foundering amidst the breakers, which extended completely across the fair channel; and Captain Hart is of opinion, that at this season, when the heavy periodical rains cause strong freshes to come down the river, the passage may occasionally be quite impracticable.

The Royalist brought the captain and the second mate of the Viscount Melbourne, a large ship wrecked on the Luconia Shoal, hoping to receive intelligence of the rest of the officers and crew.

By this fortunate opportunity I received letters of the highest interest. It appears that the Bengal

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Government has determind to resent the conduct of the sultan of Borneo and his profligate pangĕrans to the crew of the Sultana, and at the same time to carry other measures into effect, either by means of a treaty, or otherwise to get possession of the recently discovered coal near the capital. The necessity for some such step as this has long been apparent, to prevent the north-west coast from falling a prey to foreign encroachment. The increasing interest in China, owing to the war in that quarter, has induced the Government to act; and, foreseeing the possibility of such an event, I some months ago suggested to N——— the advantage of raising Muda Hassim to the throne of Borneo, or placing him, as Bandharra, in a position to govern the sultan; and it now seems that Mr. ——— is rather inclined to adopt this suggestion, he having inquired how far such a step would accord with my views. *En passant*, I must observe that the elevation of Muda Hassim is the only feasible way of managing Borneo, unless they propose taking possession of it altogether, for he is, and always has been, partial to the English, is pretty honest for a native, decidedly humane, and not wanting in liberal views. However, certain it is, that Mr. ——— comes in the Calliope, twenty-eight, with one or two steamers, and I have recommended him to touch here before proceeding to Borneo. How this may affect me it is difficult to say, but I can see nothing but good that can arise; and as it appears that this gentleman is disposed, or 1842.

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1842. is commanded, to ascertain my views, it is probable the Government will recognise my young Carthage.

The paper which I have forwarded home could not arrive at a more opportune season, as it will be put into the minister's hands at the same time with the advices from the government of Bengal regarding Borneo; and certainly, the more I reflect upon my position here, the more satisfied I feel that I can lay open the island if the government will permit me: but individual resources are not equal to these plans, without public assistance; therefore, if no spirit be moving in the good public, I must do as I best can, and not as I could wish. I must yield to circumstances. I am both happy, and moderately comfortable. My mind is clear of all reproach, and I am conscious of being ruled neither by sordid motives, nor a desire of personal advantage. How can I be other than happy when I know that I am of service to a most unhappy race, and that I am giving an impulse to this fine island, which must, now or some time hence, approximate it to the rest of the world, instead of leaving it hermetically sealed, with its millions of inhabitants, as at present. If, however, we do not take care, another nation will have it; and then farewell hope, for that nation's rule, with respect to natives, is a palsy and death to British manufactures.

The climate here is delicious, and I enjoy excellent health. I have a library, and such a multifarious press of business, that my time is either wholly filled or frittered away. The intelligence

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from the frontier is still heart-rending. Sheriff Sahib of Sadong, and his brother, Sheriff Muller, of Sakarran, seem allied for mischief. Incursions into the territory of Sarāwak have taken place, and I have written to inform them, that if attacks are made on my country, I am resolved to retaliate. At home there is little change. Muda Hassim is indolent; Makota false as ever; and my native ministers, the Patingi, Bandar, and Tumongong, the tools of Makota; but the majority of the people are with me. I have also issued the Code of Laws for the province, which were printed in the Malayan language at Singapore, and are as follow: — 1842.

"James Brooke, Esquire, governor (rajah) of the country of Sarāwak, makes known to all men the following regulations: —

"1. That murder, robbery, and other heinous crimes, will be punished according to the ondong-ondong (*i. e.* the written law of Borneo); and no person committing such offences will escape, if, after fair inquiry, he be proved guilty.

"2. In order to ensure the good of the country, all men, whether Malays, Chinese, or Dyaks, are permitted to trade or labour according to their pleasure and to enjoy their gains.

"3. All roads will be open, that the inhabitants at large may seek profit both by sea and land; and all boats coming from other parts are free to enter the river and depart, without let or hinderance.

"4. Trade, in all its branches, will be free, with the exception of antimony-ore, which the Governor

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1842. holds in his own hands, but which no person is forced to work, and which will be paid for at a proper price when obtained. The people are encouraged to trade and labour, and to enjoy the profits which are to be made by fair and honest dealing.

"5. It is ordered, that no person going amongst the Dyaks shall disturb them, or gain their goods under false pretences. It must be clearly explained to the different Dyak tribes, that the revenue will be collected by the three Datus bearing the seal of the Governor, and (except this yearly demand from the government) they are to give nothing to any other person; nor are they obliged to sell their goods except they please, and at their own prices.

"6. The Governor will shortly inquire into the revenue, and fix it at a proper rate; so that every one may know certainly how much he has to contribute yearly to support the government.

"7. It will be necessary, likewise, to settle the weights, measures, and money current in the country, and to introduce doits, that the poor may purchase food cheaply.

"8. The Governor issues these commands, and will enforce obedience to them; and whilst he gives all protection and assistance to the persons who act rightly, he will not fail to punish those who seek to disturb the public peace, or commit crimes; and he warns all such persons to seek their safety, and find some other country where

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they may be permitted to break the laws of God and man." 1842.

The short experience I have already had in the native habits and customs of administering justice, shows how difficult is the task before me.

To a people who, if they know what justice is, have never obeyed its dictates, its impartial administration in the mildest manner is a high offence; and amongst the pangērans, each desires to claim an exemption for himself and his followers, and takes little concern about the rest. At all hazards, however, I am resolved to enforce justice and to protect property; and, whatever the results may be, to leave them in God's hands. Without this there can be no stability and no ultimate prosperity to the country, and my own character would be that of a mere adventurer, rather than what I hope it has been, is, and shall be—that of a man of honour and integrity, who is willing to sacrifice and suffer in a good cause.

Santah Cottage, Feb. 4.—I am here on my first visit to my farm at this place. The cottage is situated at the junction of the Santah stream with the left hand river. The latter is highly picturesque the whole way from Ledah Tanneh, with high banks, clear water, occasional rocks, and a varied and abundant vegetation, and at Santah are all these characters, and the landscape one of sylvan beauty. The small stream of Santah, however, is yet more beautiful in my eyes, rushing along its pebbly bed, and overarched with melan- Feb. 4.

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1842. choly boughs, that admit the tropical sun only in flickering rays. The scene resembles the Dargle in county Wicklow, but is far more luxuriant and rich in foliage. Santah cottage stands on a slight eminence on the river's edge, and the farm, as yet, presents only about three acres, covered with brushwood and huge trees felled, but numerous fruit trees (Durien and Landseh) have been spared, and still adorn the prospect. The cottage is about twenty-four feet square, with two stories, and the walls composed of split bamboo entwined, which for the climate is sufficient defence, and not liable, like the leaves, to accidents from fire. A small nursery of a thousand nutmegs, some figs, &c., are thriving very well, and I hope soon to add the coffee tree, the areca palm or betel-nut, and the cocoa-nut. A second cottage, which is to be called Fairy Knoll, is in progress, with a cleared space as big as Santah, and distant scarce half a mile; and at this second cottage is to be the diamond mine.

The Santah river is famous for its diamonds; and I really believe that they abound, as the natives formerly worked largely, making holes of various depths close to the stream; and Patingi Ali assured me, that he himself, with four men, once got sixty diamonds, some of three and four carets, in one day. The establishment at Santah consists of Hajji Ibrahim, the Chinese Mohammedan, already mentioned, two Banjar diamond workers, and six labourers, and I have to-day added four Chinese for the diamond trench. The

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natives, as I before said, work in holes on the water's edge, and then sift the earth in search of the precious stones; but it is a tedious and uncertain process, and by no means likely to develop the real resources of the land, and I have therefore resolved to work after the Chinese fashion, of trenching the grounds with a run of water through the trench. The course of the river is peculiarly favourable for this operation. Three excavations in the trench to receive the deposits of diamonds and gold. The outlay will be about one hundred pounds sterling. How the imagination fires at the mention of a diamond mine — diamonds as big as pigeon's eggs are present to the fancy, and each day the dreaming possessor may expect wealth, and each day be disappointed. My expectations are, however, moderate, and I think reasonable, for I propose to work the mine to support the plantation, and if the diamonds only pay for the labour, a few years will produce a revenue in coffee and nutmegs, betel and cocoa-nuts, for the soil is excellent. The diamonds are found mixed in the gravelly substratum, and there is likewise a small quantity of gold to be obtained. The earth is washed at the water's edge in large round wooden pans, shaped like shields; the diamonds are picked out, and there remains a residue of black sand like gunpowder and gold particles; of course a good deal of neatness and attention is requisite, and the workers seem jealous and superstitious, dislike noise, particularly laughter or merriment, as it is

1842.

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1842. highly offensive to the spirit who presides over the diamonds, and what is perhaps more important in their eyes, *the* diamonds cannot be found if the abode of quiet is disturbed by unholy mirth. It is surprising to see people calling themselves Mohammedans yielding to Pagan rites of presenting offerings to the spirit of the mine — the Gnome king: fowls, rice, eggs, ciri, are weekly offered; but I was pleased to hear that they were sensible enough to eat up these good things after the oblations have been made. Hajji Ibrahim, with the most solemn face, requested me to give him an old letter, and he engraved thereon some Chinese characters two inches long, which being translated, signify, "Rajah Muda Hassim, James Brooke, and Hajji Ibrahim, present their compliments to the spirit, and request his permission to work at the mine."

This Hajji is a most extraordinary character, *most industrious*, with a tongue like an alarum-bell, and the most blunt speech I ever heard eastward of the Cape. Yet is he honest? I have some hopes he is moderately so, but it is not always the frank and open manner that denotes the virtuous and candid mind. "My honest, honest Iago," may steal the diamonds if I look not after him; but if he is cunning, he is master of his art, for his language is the most unguarded and incautious, and certainly dangerous to himself. Sitting near two pirates one day, before many witnesses, he exclaimed, that pirates and illanuns were the most

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wicked of men, and ought all to be put to death. 1842.
To the pangerans, even those of high rank, he holds the same language, and pronounces the Malays fit for nothing but eating and sleeping. In fact he is an original, — my diamond; and certainly, if I can trust one word of what he says, and if he perform his promises, I shall have no reason to complain.

On the whole I am delighted with Santah; it is picturesque and beautiful, and a place where I can retire with pleasure to enjoy solitude and nature.

One particular I had nearly forgotten to mention, which is a warm spring in a creek, not far from Fairy Knoll: the water is lukewarm. I have not yet tried it by the thermometer; but I could perceive no medicinal property in taste or smell: if any thing, it is slightly chalybeate. There is a tree here which the natives call Kapŭllah, a hard wood, with a most fragrant smell, and the essential oil of which would be equal to the far-famed Kayu Putih. The natives use it for ship-building, and I conceive it might be employed advantageously in many ways.

Near the cottage a large ara-tree (kayu-ara) has been felled, and close by stands a Durien-tree, two parts of the trunk of which are entwined by a large creeper, or rather by a succession of creepers, which are the commencement of the ara tree!! The ara is often not less than fourteen feet in circumference (and it is probable that it attains to a much larger size). Its growth is so extraordinary,

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1842. that I shall here take the trouble to describe it, according to the native account, modified by my own observation. The ara is first a creeper, which descends from the top of another tree, where it is deposited in the excrement of birds. It adheres most closely to the stem of the tree to which it attaches itself, and growing downwards, takes root, and in time, by its increase, or by a succession of creepers, covers and encases the original tree, which perishes in its embrace. The ara afterwards increases in size, throws out branches, and becomes a fine tree, bearing a fruit which is a favourite food of pigeons and other birds. When I first heard this native account I was incredulous, and only became convinced on ascertaining that it is substantially true.*

The partial case on the Durien tree and others, the deadly adherence of the creeper, the irregularity of the large ara, as if formed by a succession of layers or twists, and the sponginess of the wood, are all proofs, in a degree: to add to these, that the large ara is hollow within, where the trunk to which it originally clung has died and decayed, and that the wood of the tree and the creeper, the bark and the juice are precisely similar, and this is enough for conviction. I do not remember any account of this tree or its peculiar mode of growth; and the only points on which I am not satisfied, are its descent from above, and whether the ara is originally one creeper, which gradually ramifies and takes

* The ara is a species of Ficus.

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fresh root, or whether it requires a number to form the trunk. These points I leave for further inquiry. 1842.

I will here make a brief reference to the relative position of the Dutch, the sultan of Sambas, and the Chinese. The Dutch hold Sambas by a commercial treaty, and monopolise salt, whilst the sultan monopolises opium. All British manufactures, with guns, muskets, and gunpowder, are prohibited. The sultan enjoys the opium monopoly, paying a portion to his partners: he is rich, and as unprincipled as the natives in general. The pangerans and their followers of Sambas are very numerous, and very dissolute. Robberies are frequent, and the state of society abandoned; and robbers are employed by the better class, or at any rate concealed in their houses. Opium smoking is very common, together with gambling, and the other vices of the Malay character. The unhappy Dyaks, except such as are under the protection of the Chinese, are subject to the depredations of this evil gang.

The Chinese, originally a slavish and ignorant body of artisan emigrants from their own country, have here risen to power, and almost to independent government. A portion of the Dyaks are subject to them from custom; and the jurisdiction of the countries where they reside is entirely in their hands. Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks are put to death, or otherwise punished for crimes committed in the province. It is surprising to see a European nation submitting with patience and tameness to

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1842. an imperium in imperio, and allowing all manner of extortion and injustice to be perpetrated in a territory, the native prince of which is under their protection. This independence the Chinese carry so far as to war amongst themselves, with the sultan, and with the Dutch, almost as a sovereign people. In the contest with the Dutch, the Chinese, though they finally agreed to pay one real head-tax, gained the advantage of turning all the residents out of their country; and a Dutchman now, probably, dares not venture within their limits.

The Chinese have many good points: they are active, industrious, and commercial; and when we consider their ignorance, and the badness of the government under which they have lived, deprived of trade, and subject to all the evils of extortion and monopoly, we are apt to give them much credit for the good qualities they display.

I here propose giving a brief account of the Chinese of Sambas. They were formerly divided into the following kunsis or companies, each independent of the other, yet united by habits and language. They state themselves that the Chinese have been in Sambas for upwards of a century. They were divided some years ago into eight kunsis: the eighth is an exceedingly small one.

1st. Tykong, at Montradok.
2d. San Tĭ Qu, or Sipang.
3d. Sinbok.
4th. Hammu-i.
5th. Ship duk fun.

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1842.

6th. Ship mu fun.

7th. Manfo.

8th. Lintian.

These kunsis were originally all settled in the neighbourhood of Montradok, and as long as gold was plentiful no disputes arose amongst them, while their condition was most flourishing. My informants state that five hundred taēls (which is 832 grains per taēl or bunkal) was the minimum produce of a parit or trench.* The following data are corrected from Sir Stamford Raffles' note in vol. i. p. 265. History of Java. It is there reckoned that the working population is 32,000, and the medium produce per man 6½ bunkals per annum, and the price of the gold 18 Spanish dollars. The first of these items, from all my information, is rated low; the second, I take to be just; the third, far below what it ought to be. I shall reckon it, therefore, 35,000 men, 6½ bunkals per annum per man, and 22 Spanish dollars as the value of the gold per bunkal; which will give as follows: —

2)35,000(17,500
6
210,000
17,500
227,500 taels or bunkals.
22
455,000
455,000
5,005,000 Spanish dollars, or 1,237,500 pounds sterling.

* Which is 866⅔ ounces.

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1842. By an estimate made in the year 1812, the annual produce on the west coast of Borneo was reckoned at 4,744,000$, which, if it mean Sambas only, in its most palmy days, is correct according to my information. A great part of this sum, as remarked by Sir S. Raffles, found its way to China, and a large portion was expended in the country to support the exorbitant charges imposed by the Dutch and the Sultan.

With such a supply of gold it was easy to support the charge of a rapacious government, the weight of taxation, and the restrictions of trade; but for some years past, gold has been getting scarce, and the good understanding of the various kunsis soon gave way to jealousy and hostilities. After bearing the brunt of a war with the Dutch, the three kunsis of San Tĭ Qu, Ship Duk Fun, and Ship Mu Fun, attacked the parent company of Tykong, and were defeated. Ship Duk Fun retreated to Landah, in the territory of Pontiana, and the Manfo kunsi retired without disturbance to the same place. San Tĭ Qu and Ship Mu Fun were allowed by Tykong to settle at Sipang. This war occurred, as far as I can learn, about twelve or fourteen years since. About five years ago, Tykong was again involved in disputes with Sinbok and Hammu-i, and the latter two being unable to maintain their ground by force, Hammu-i retired to the interior of Pontiana, and the Sinbok has since been broken and scattered.

This is the brief history of the Sambas kunsis,

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which, from eight, are now reduced to four, viz. Tykong, San Tĭ Qu, Ship Mu Fun, and Lintean; and of these four, Tykong is the only one that is powerful. These kunsis are all democratic in constitution, and the six managers of affairs are constantly changed by the public voice, their term of office rarely exceeding four months. The numbers which have emigrated from Sambas to Pontiana, will not affect the general estimate I have given of 150,000 as the amount of the population; nor, indeed, does it far exceed Sir Stamford Raffles' calculation, who computed 32,000 miners at Sambas some twenty years ago. Add to these cultivators, women, traders, emigrants, and the increase of the population, and we cannot reckon the total as much less than 100,000 at Sambas. The proportion of women to men is small, consisting merely of the mixed breed, who have been born in the colony. 1842.

March 13. 1842.—I have now to relate a conference with the Chinese of the San Tĭ Qu kunsi, who formerly made an agreement with Muda Hassim, to the effect that they were to work gold or ore in the *right*-hand river. Since my arrival I have been anxious to discover their real designs, but have only now succeeded. I could see that they were very jealous of any other kunsi being brought here, and, if sufficiently strong, would resist its location in the province. I was resolved, however, on the step, for this simple reason, viz. that one company requires to be counterpoised by another, both for the purpose of government and trade. March 1.

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1842. One company would soon take the bit in its own mouth, and run away with an infant government on its back, for there is no combined interest to oppose them if once established. At present, they are few in number, poor, and dependent on me for food and every necessary. These reasons had long convinced me of the necessity of the step; but I might have postponed it for a few months, from the pressure of other business and a reluctance to embroil myself with a body who would support me in every other case, had not a piece of treachery on their part more fully opened my eyes to the urgency of the occasion.

The agreement with Muda Hassim allowed them the right-hand river, and the permission to work the ore, but forbade the exportation of it without leave, and made no mention of any exclusive right in the San Tĭ Qu kunsi to close the country against other Chinese. This treaty or agreement was written in Malay, translated into Chinese, and duly signed by the kunsi and the Rajah. This was all done before my coming; but the agreement had not been long in my hands, when, some suspicion arising, I got the Chinese translation read by a disinterested party, and found that, instead of being a translation, it declared the gift of the entire country, "whether far or near," to the San Tĭ Qu kunsi, and that no other kunsi could settle in the country! Secondly, that none but the San Tĭ Qu kunsi could work the antimony ore!!

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1842.

The Rajah, when the plot was explained to him, was horrified and indignant; and, without the presence of mind and judgment of white men, it was a most likely circumstance to have produced a massacre of the Chinese, in which case the world would have been edified by the report of Malay blood-thirstiness, but would have continued ignorant of the deceit and treachery on the part of the Chinese, which occasioned it (this *en passant*). We had a great conference: all the Chinese head men, with a crowd of inferiors; four or five brothers of the Rajah, with their followers; a few Siniawans, particularly Patingi Gĭfforu; and lastly, myself and my attendants. On opening the conference (which was held in Malay and translated into Chinese), I explained how despicably low their name would become from such a deceit, hoped that it had not been intentional, called upon them as honest men to disavow it, and concluded by propounding to them a fresh agreement. They, in reply, accepted the terms I proposed, expressed their willingness to receive any number of men as additions to their body of the San Tĭ Qu kunsi, and called upon me to declare whether it was my intention to place any, and what, kunsi here. I declared that the Sinbok kunsi was to be located immediately on the left-hand river. To this they would on no terms agree! urging their prior claims, the assistance given by them in the war; and that others should come and eat the grain which they had planted, they exclaimed against as

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1842. most unjust. I, on the contrary, argued that a specified portion of land had been consigned to them, and that they could not pretend to extend their claims to any other part of the country; that their profits would not be less on their ground because *others worked other* ground; and that, so far from eating grain of their planting, the Sinbok had yet to plant the grain, and each would eat only what was planted by themselves. Lastly, that whatever claims they had from their former services were invalidated by the deceit they had practised; and if they did not accept the terms offered, and freely allow the right of the Rajah to place the Sinbok, and guarantee that they would behave peaceably towards them, they must leave the country, and return to Sambas.

This was the pith of the argument the first night, when they broke up, about two o'clock, declaring it could never be; whilst I declared it must be, and the day after to-morrow. The next evening but one they came reinforced by all the head men, whom they had called from their settlements, and our party had many listeners. They opened the conference by declaring their willingness to accept the new agreement, their obedience to the Rajah and myself, their entire good faith and pure intentions; that they would consent to the Sinbok dwelling here, but requested, in consideration of their prior claims, that they might be called Sam Sinbok (Sam Sinbok implies that they are dependants or slaves). I was prepared for this re-

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quest, as it had been partially spoken of the night before, and, therefore, met the demand with a negative. Argument was heaped upon argument; and it may give some idea of their minds, which, amid *much cunning*, display some reasoning power, to mention that one argument offered was, that they were called San Tĭ Qu, which had three syllables, and it was better to call the others Sam Sinbok, which had likewise three syllables! To this I replied, that any term which implied equality I would receive, and, therefore, if they would style themselves *Sam* San Ti Qu, the others should be styled *Sam* Sin-bok. Their burst of indignation showed me how little they relished applying to themselves the degrading term they wished to affix on the others. I added, as a proof of their greatness they ought to have a longer name by one syllable, and that they might choose to give both their present names, or add *Sam* to both. 1842.

We broke up late, they still resisting all my proposals, and trying to delay by requesting leave to proceed up to their settlement. I replied shortly, that they could not leave the place except to depart for Sambas, and that their final answer must be given to-morrow morning, and failing to reply would be esteemed tantamount to resistance and disobedience. Seeing how the conference was going, I had despatched messengers to prepare the schooner, arm her boats, and likewise the war prahus; and, by the time we broke up, every thing was ready. In the morning they requested a re-

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1842. prieve till the evening, when they would meet me again; and, on our meeting, they conceded every thing of importance, and glossed their concessions by complaining of a few insignificant points, two of which I readily waved:—one was the remission of their yearly revenue, amounting to 200 reals, which they said they had understood was to commence from this year instead of last. So ended the famous conference, and I only wish a Wilkie had been here to represent it.

The Royalist was loaded, and sailed after a detention of three days on account of the Chinese affair, for I had resolved at once to push it to extremity if they did not yield to the terms demanded. The head men of the kunsi were all in my power; and when, after the second evening's discussion, they requested leave to proceed up the river, I intimated that they could not depart until they had consented to sign the first agreement. Had they been strong enough, I doubt not they would have resisted; and even now I look forward to future trouble in that quarter; but by just government and fair trade they may be brought to good temper, and, at any rate, the chances are we shall strengthen in a greater proportion than they will be able to do.*

April 13. *April* 13.—The Royalist arrived on the 25th of March, and sailed on the 9th, carrying a cargo of antimony ore. Of Mr. Bonham's movements I have no intelligence, but I believe him to be anxious to forward my views.

* This kunsi has remained well disposed and peaceable ever since.

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1842.

I have had a visit from the pangawa of Lundu. This naked savage was the first Dyak I ever saw, and I felt deeply interested in him. I mentioned him in the early part of my Journal when I visited Lundu in 1839. From him I had an excellent opportunity of correcting my former information, and adding to it. Biadum was a great Dyak chief (probably of the tribe, for I never heard of him elsewhere), whom they held in great reverence. God is Battara, or Jowata; to him they offer sacrifice at harvest time, &c. Battara and Jowata are different names for the same person; and Sabyan is below the earth: a good place, &c., where there are houses of plank fitted up with musquito curtains and every other convenience. Their tradition of the creation of man is,—that Jowata took earth in both hands; that the earth in his right hand, became man; that on his left, woman; and he gave them to live together.* This is the belief of four or five tribes I have asked, and probably common to them all. The Lundu use the term Jowata for God, as do some others; many, however, use Battara: both are Hindù. The Dyaks were formerly under the government of Java, and their revenue was yearly sent there, but when the Borneans invaded their country the Javanese were driven out. This is a tradition of several tribes of whom I have inquired, and is worthy of remark, especially as it is confirmed by the Hindù names of the Deity. I now require to see their customs and ceremonies, and if

* Probably taken from the Malays.

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1842. I live to another year shall most likely be able to do so. I may mention, that in sickness the Dyaks employ music as a sort of charm, and, with the beating of gongs of different sorts (of which they are very fond), walk in procession round about the house or village. I have here and there seen their various modes of disposing of their dead; some bury, some burn: generally among the hill tribes here the latter is the custom, and upholds the tradition of Javanese supremacy, a link in the evidence that they have received some Hindù instruction.

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CHAP. XVIII.

FLEET OF PIRATES. — SAILING DIRECTIONS. — COAST SCENERY. — PURSUIT OF PIRATES. — THE BIG HOUSE. — PRIVILEGES OF THE ORANG KAYA. — EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS. — NEW AND CURIOUS CUSTOM. — ISLANDS OF TALANG TALANG. — TURTLES. — FORTIFIED DWELLINGS. — MANNER OF DEPOSITING TURTLES' EGGS. — NEWS OF PANGERAN BUDRUDEEN. — MEETING WITH THE PANGERAN AND ILLANUN PANGLIMA. — HOSTILE ENCOUNTER. — DEATH OF THE PANGLIMA. — CHARACTER OF THE KADYAN TRIBE. — RETURN TO SARĀWAK. — EXECUTION OF PANGERAN BUDRUDEEN. — METHOD OF STRANGLING. — KRISING. — NEWS FROM SINGAPORE. — REPORTS OF AN INTENDED INVASION. — A WARNING LETTER TO THE PIRATE CHIEF. — AFFECTING PARTING OF THE CONDEMNED CRIMINALS AND THE RAJAH'S BROTHERS. — LAND-BEARINGS. — LISTS OF RIVERS. — DESCRIPTION OF COAST.

1842. April 29

April 29. 1842. — I HAVE lately returned from a few days' excursion into the interior, where I proceeded to visit the Chinese settlements. During my absence a Dyak fleet of pirates threatened the interior of the river, but were beaten off by a small force of prahus sent by the Tumangong with Mr. Crimble, and a few of my Europeans. To-morrow or next day I start again for the Samarahan.

April 30.

April 30. — More accounts of Dyaks at the mouth of the Moratabas, and I am off to attack them with my Raja Walli, about forty men; Ular, thirty men; Syam Sabong, or fighting cock, twenty men; Nagur, thirty men* — in all one hundred and twenty good men and true — good luck be with us!

* These are names of war boats: *Anglicè*, eagle, snake, fighting cock, and dragon.

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1842.
May 1. *May* 1.—We dropped down the river last evening, and pulled in the morning to the Samarahan, but found no Dyaks, as reported. The entrance is incorrectly laid down by Mr. Murray, by placing it as disemboguing to the northward, whereas it is to the westward, and some miles farther than he makes it. Hence, we retraced our course, and, passing Tanjong Po, coasted along the head-lands to Tullok Limow, where the Dyaks were encountered before. Here, however, we found no fresh traces. These head-lands are bold with rocks, and moderately elevated cliffs, and white sandy beaches, fringed with intervening trees. The crags have a weather-beaten aspect, the vegetation on them showing the effects of the high winds in the north-east monsoon.

To the westward of Tanjong Po, rocks lie off a mile and a half or more, but otherwise there is no visible danger. Tullok Limow is protected by an island, and an anchorage *might* be found for vessels in the north-east monsoon; but I had not time to examine. Between this island (which from seaward appears the westernmost head-land) and Tanjong Sipang, the land falls into a deep sandy bay, in which are the three rivers Siraĭ, Tabo, and Buntal, all of which are connected one with the other, and with the main stream of Sarāwak. The river Siraĭ joining the Sarāwak, too, reaches beyond Santong, the Buntal nearer the Batu Boyar* entrance, and the connecting rivers branch into so many smaller streams, that they form, as I

* Alligator rock.

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have before observed, a net-work of water wherein a boat may easily lose its way. No vessel should venture into this bay, as the sands extend a long way out to sea. The entrance of these rivers is very shallow, and at the Tabo and Buntal dries at half ebb, in consequence of which there is a remarkable irregularity of the tide. The first of the flood not finding its way in from the sea, the flood-tide of the Sarāwak fills the river, which appears to run ebb until the sands at the mouth are covered, when the regular flood from the sea makes in. Thus half the flood was towards the sea, and half into the country: the same with the ebb tide, the first half of which runs out regularly; but when the sand dries, the last half appears to run flood, and escapes by the Sarāwak mouth. 1842.

We brought up at sunset at the embouchure of the Buntal, and had a long walk with our guns over the sands. The scenery is striking, and the mountains of Santobong form a beautiful contrast with the sandy beach. No place could surpass it for the purposes of exercise and enjoyment. Fish is to be found in abundance, and deer and hogs are plentiful; the latter I might have shot, but could not come within reach of the former; those I saw were of a decided reddish colour. A huge lizard, or biawak, was likewise seen, but escaped: its length appeared full five feet. It is a land crocodile, but harmless. After dark we pulled away for Batu Boyar, and there passed the night, after a hard day's-work for the men.

May 2. — Got away at 7 A.M. from Batu Boyar, May 2.

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1842. and, with a light breeze, stood for Lundu. Near the mouth of this river there is a supply of fine pure water to be procured at the foot of Gunong Sijujang, a hill situated on the right hand as you enter from the sea. There is a succession of rivers, and low points connected by fine sandy beaches, all the way to Lundu.

At 10 A. M. fell in with a small party fishing, who gave us information of two prahus having passed four days before. These may be the pirate Budrudeen and his consort, Sheriff Abu Bakar, and, if so, we shall probably find them at Lundu. The question arose in my mind whether, as the latter's boat was not present at the attack on the Chinese, and, as yet, had committed no act of piracy, I could by any means include her crew in the punishment, unless they took part with the guilty, and resisted. In the evening we reached the mouth of the Lundu river; but on our way fell in with two boats of the Sibuyow Dyaks, who ran from us, and abandoned one of their prahus. This we picked up and brought in, but the other carried the news of enemies up to the kampong, and when we anchored, we heard two or three guns fired as a proof that they were on the alert.

It thus became dangerous to proceed in the dark, and we had to wait till day-break with a good look-out, it being not unlikely that our friends might attack us. All those who frequent the sea-shores lead a life of constant peril from roving Dyaks and treacherous Malays, like those we are

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in pursuit of, and Illanuns and Balanini, the regular pirates. It is a life of watchfulness, hide-and-seek, and fight or flight, and in the course of each year many lose their lives or their liberty; yet this sea-shore abounds with fish, shrimps, and turtle, which, if properly protected, would prove a source of revenue. 1842.

May 3. — Patingi Ali, and the Rajah's follower, Ibrahim, started from Lundu at mid-day, when the grand fleet got under weigh, and in the evening reached the town. May 3.

May 4. — I passed last night in the Long House, which is not quite so long as the one described in my last journal. The former one was burnt, and with it all the heads; but they appeared to care little about them, or to think that there was any necessity for their being replaced, though they complained bitterly of the loss of eight or ten muskets. I have every reason to adhere to my former opinion of this people, or rather to praise them more highly than I did before. Their chief, the Orang Kaya Tumangong, is a man of remarkable qualities, candid, brave, and honest. He was surrounded by a family of eight or nine fine children, by his wife and an obedient tribe. Nothing opposes their prosperity, excepting the extortions of the Pangerans, and their hereditary lord, Bindarri Sumpsu; yet even these dare not greatly oppress them, for they know the resolution of the men, and respect it. May 4.

I have noticed that Bindarri Simpsu is the

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1842. hereditary lord of Sabuyow, all of whose relations share in his privileges. This claim to authority over the tribe arose from the payment of some debts by the Bindarri's ancestors, long beyond the memory of the present generation. Being since a broken tribe, part only are at Lundu, the rest dispersed in different places at Sadong. The Lundu people have always resisted any undue exactions or claims; but those at Sadong, less strong, have been subjected to them.

These claims have gradually risen in proportion to the distance of time, the weakness of the Dyaks, and the increased want of principle in the chiefs. At first the Dyaks paid a small stated sum as an acknowledgment of vassalage; by degrees, this became an arbitrary and unlimited taxation, and now, to consummate the iniquity, the entire tribes are *pronounced slaves, and liable to be disposed of.* This fate has attended them in many instances, upwards of thirty having already been sold by the rapacious relations of Bindarri. Not so the Orang Kaya Tumangong, who has maintained his liberty, and openly asserts it, with great vehemence declaring that whoever wishes to make his tribe at Lundu slaves, must first fight with them. When we were at the house their yearly paddy was drying in the sun, laid upon mats, and the harvest "*being home*" they were storing it. One of the Rajah's brothers, a great rascal, by name Abdul Kadire, had made a demand in the following manner. He sent a bundle of twenty Dyak clothes, value six or seven reals,

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1842.

and requested the Orang Kaya to give ten reals for it. This was not very extortionate, but for this ten reals he demanded one hundred and sixty passus of salt, or upwards of a koyan and a half. I took away the Dyak clothes, or bidangs, and relieved the Sibuyows from this intolerable tax.

I observed one of their customs somewhat new to me. A child was sick, and, as a charm, a straight stick, six feet high, was stuck in a water-jar before the door of the apartment in which it lay: leaves, surmounted by a Battick handkerchief, crowned the head, and the stem was twined with a chowat or waist-cloth. On inquiry, I learned that it was a charm, and that a ghost or fairy (untu) would descend and make known the best cure for the child — either in a dream, or whilst they were awake, they could not be certain which.

At mid-day we dropped down the river, and at the mouth were joined by the Orang Kaya Tumangong in a small war prahu. I have already described these boats: this one pulled twenty paddles only — was fastened with rattans, as they all are — was very fast, and painted red. I learned that they make this red paint themselves, from *an earth* which is very abundant, and not far from their river: they mix the earth with oil! Surely this is worth inquiring about. At night we passed through the intricate channel, and, after pulling till twelve o'clock, brought up in a bay within Tanjong Batū.

We had learned from the Orang Kaya Tumangong that the pirate Budrudeen was at Siru,

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1842. and Sheriff Abu Bakar at Talang Talang; so in the morning the boats separated, and whilst the Tumangong and the Orang Kaya Tumangong went to the former place, I, with the rest of the fleet, proceeded to Talang Talang.

The islands of Talang Talang are two in number, both small and hilly, covered with vegetation, each having a narrow sandy beach. On this sand the turtles, in large numbers, deposit their eggs, which are a source of revenue and profit, and with the fish-stakes at Siru and Samatan, would bring from 1000 to 1500 reals a year revenue. The turtle is the common green species, and a few of the kind which produce the tortoise-shell. They commence laying about the middle of May, a stray one only making its appearance at this season. From the middle of June and July they come up ninety and a hundred of a night; and as each female, at a fair calculation, deposits 200 eggs, there may be reckoned 20,000 eggs nightly, for two or three months. These eggs are exported to Sambas and Pontiana, and all along the S. W. coast. The price at Sambas is eight finams a hundred, and at Pontiana one rupee for the same number. From twenty to forty men live on the island, and it is just the life they like. On the sand they have a small watch-house; and half way up the hill their dwelling-house, defended by a palisade and guarded by two guns; and on the hill-top another house, which may be called a place of refuge. From the number of pirates, they are obliged to take

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these precautions. It is the custom, whenever a friendly boat touches at the island, to present two hundred eggs of large, and one hundred of small size. The head person at Talang Talang is appointed from Sarāwak, and he has likewise the management and control of the fishing-stakes and nets at Siru, Samatan, and other places. The rates for a stake, a net, or for hand-fishing for shrimps, are fixed by long standing custom, and it is only of late, when Der Makota doubled them, that the people have deserted these stations. Shrimps and prawns in great abundance frequent the shores at the commencement of May, and fish at the end of the same month. The natives represent them to be in surprising and incalculable numbers. In the middle of April people from Sambas, Sadong, Kaluka, and most other parts, come for the season to this "watering-place" for profit. Some fish, others manufacture balachan; some trust to their net, others to their stakes: and at this season salt is in great demand. I will only repeat again, that if life and property were secure, the fishery on this coast would be very valuable; and surely it would not be too much to ask of a civilised Government to suppress the most atrocious system of piracy and murder that ever disgraced the neighbourhood of a European settlement. In three months, the spawning season being at an end, the fish retire to deeper water, and in five months the turtle season is over. The persons engaged in this occupation then return to their different countries,

1842.

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1842. and the following year have to rebuild their houses anew, as they are generally pulled down by pirates; and if they have been at the trouble of making a garden, the savages destroy that likewise, cutting down the young cocoa nuts and plantains, for the pleasure, it is presumed, of trying the temper of their swords.

I had here an opportunity of seeing a turtle deposit its eggs, which it did in the following manner:—when on the sand it wandered from place to place, and tried several by digging a little, apparently rejecting them as unfit: at length, having made its choice, it burried its nose, and began scooping the sand with its hinder feet in a most deliberate and easy manner, throwing the sand to a considerable distance. It often stopped in its work, and recommenced, and so dug till the body was pretty well buried, and the hole a depth of three or more feet. It then took its station over the hole, and began to lay its eggs, which it did at intervals, for a length of time, to the number of two hundred and thirty; and all the while was perfectly indifferent to the proximity of numerous spectators. Having deposited its eggs, it filled the hole with its hinder fins, and beat down the sand both on the spot and all around, and then retired, not directly (for the track would have been a guide to the nest), but in numerous tortuous courses, round and round, and finally took its departure for the sea at a point distant from its eggs. The Malays on watch have small sticks

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with flags on them, and as each turtle deposits its eggs, they mark the spot with one of these, and the following morning take the eggs, and store them ready for sale. With all their vigilance, however, numbers escape their observation, and some nests they purposely spare. When the young come forth, the sand (which is small) is said to be literally covered with them, and as they make directly for the sea, the sharks and other fish devour great numbers. These two islands are picturesque and beautiful, with fine wood, and they would make a charming estate for the growth of nutmegs and coffee, for the soil is good. At present they abound with limes and chillies, and have a few wild plantains, all of which thrive well. 1842.

To return, however, to my narrative. In the evening the Tumangong came over with certain news that the pirate Budrudeen was at Siru with eight followers; his band ashore, and he living in a house in the village. Abu Bakar, with a crew of fifteen men, chiefly Illanuns, I found living ashore at Talang Talang, with a small boat, and a huge long six-pounder in her, which, fired twice, must have separated her planks. I learned, also, that six Balinini boats had been to Talang Talang, and had had a friendly conference with Sheriff Abu Bakar.

In the evening we had a storm, and were obliged to run our boats ashore, as they could not have withstood the sea which rolled in.

May 5.—The Tumangong came with many ex- May 5.

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1842. cuses, begging not to be employed against the pirate Budrudeen: he evidently dreaded the consequences. The two patingis, therefore, I sent on, with orders to catch them, if possible; if not, to kill them. I, at the same time, informed Sheriff Abu Bakar that I had no discussion to hold with him; but that I had come to catch, or to kill Budrudeen and his comrades. One of these was a Illanun panglima; and on his brother Illanuns hearing it, some of them wept. All said, however, that if I killed the Illanun panglima, without killing the Pangeran and his brother-in-law, it would be unjust. I assured them I should kill all three, and they were so far comforted. At mid-day, the patingis not returning, I civilly requested my Sheriff to take himself away as soon as he could from Talang Talang, and having ordered Si Pata, my deputy, never again to receive or confer with pirates, I set sail for Siru.

Arrived at Siru, I found the patingi waiting till the pangeran and the Illanun panglima came to the beach; and to prevent suspicion, my party kept close in the boat, whence I could observe what was passing without. The pangeran and Illanun walked down, both well armed, and the latter dressed out with a variety of charms. Once on the beach, retreat was impossible, for our people surrounded them, though without committing any hostile act. The suspicion of the two was, however, raised, and it was curious to observe their different demeanour. The Borneo pangeran remained quiet, silent, and

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motionless; a child might have taken him; the Magindinao Illanun lashed himself to desperation, flourishing his spear in one hand, and the other on the handle of his sword, he defied those collected about him: he danced his war-dance on the sand: his face became deadly pale: his wild eyes glared: he was ready to amok, to die, but not to die alone. His time was come, for he was dangerous, and to catch him was impossible; and accordingly, Patingi Ali, walking past, leaped forward, and struck a spear through his back, far between his shoulders, half a foot out at his breast. I had no idea that after such a thrust, a man could, even for a few instants, exert himself; but the panglima, after receiving his mortal wound, rushed forward with his spear, and thrust it at the breast of another man; but strength and life failed, and the weapon did not enter. This was the work of a few seconds. 1842.

When the blow was dealt, we started from our concealment, and the Borneo pangeran, without ever drawing his sword, fled, our people not molesting him. I prevented any atrocities being committed on the body of the criminal, and, wrapped in my sheet, he was decently interred according to the usages of El Islam. The pangeran, in the mean time, had escaped to a house, where, with seven followers, he threatened a desperate resistance. I despatched a messenger to him to say that I would take him to Sarāwak and guarantee his safety so far; but he positively refused. As the day was fast declining, my second message was to inform him, if he

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1842. did not come down to the beach, I should attack his house; and on receiving this message, and seeing our state of preparation, he yielded to terms; and the whole crew were shipped aboard the Tumangong's boat. The flood-tide making at ten at night, and the boats getting afloat, we passed out from Siru, the entrance to which is dangerous for boats, and pulled for Samatan, where we brought up at about one in the morning, after a very busy day. Siru and Samatan are both fishing stations. At the former place is a colony of Kadyans from Borneo—originally, only six or seven men; now amounting to thirty families, from having intermarried with the Dyaks and Malays. These Kadyans are Islamites, and form the rural population of Borneo, where they are numerous. They are a very fine people; respected for their honesty and plain dealing, and for the simplicity of their manners and mode of life. The native testimony is unanimously in their favour, and the little I have seen of them goes to corroborate the general impression.

May 6. *May* 6. — Sailing all day. Parted from the Orang Kaya Tumangong, who went into Lundu, whilst we ourselves put in for the night to Sibow, intending to take the inner passage to the Sarāwak river.

May 7. *May* 7. — Heavy rain prevented our getting under weigh during the night; therefore in the morning put to sea again, and about ten reached Batu Boyar. Having bathed in the beautiful fresh,

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cool streamlet of Sijingjang, despatched the patingi to Sarāwak to give information, whilst we followed slowly with the prisoners. Brought up opposite the Sirail. 1842.

May 8. — Late last evening proceeded to Lintang: at midnight was joined by pangeran Bakire and the patingis, who came to say that Muda Hassim consented to the execution of the pirates. With pangeran Bakire came Mr. Williamson, the schooner having entered the Moratabas the day before. The day our tragedy was acting at Siru she stood past Talang Talang, and had we been a few hours later we should probably have seen her. May 8.

May 9. — At nine A. M. reached our wharf: conferred through Williamson with Muda Hassim, who was resolute about putting the rascals to death. However, I suggested to him that the example of the pangeran would suffice for the ends of justice. He added another; the pangeran's brother-in-law. About one, the pirate Budrudeen was taken across the water to the house of his own relatives, who were present, and had previously consented to his death, and there strangled by pangeran Bakire. The mode of execution is *refined*. The prisoner is placed inside thick musquito curtains, and the cord twisted from behind. The criminal, it is said, kept repeating, "What! am I to be put to death for *only* killing the Chinese? Mercy, mercy!" His brother-in-law was krissed by a follower of the rajah, inside a house. His May 9.

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1842. hands were held out, and the long kriss being fixed within the clavicle bone on the left side, was pushed down to the heart. The criminal smiled as they fixed the kriss — never spoke a word, and died instantly. Thus ended this bloody and wretched business, which nothing but a stern sense of its necessity would have induced me to consent to. That they deserved death none can doubt. The rest of the prisoners, seven in number, were chained.

May 10. *May* 10.—Royalist at anchor.

From Singapore I received through Napier news that Mr. Bonham approved of the letter I wrote him on the subject of Borneo, and that he had probably referred it to the Government of Bengal, and had asked Napier whether he thought I would undertake the mission, if appointed. Napier answered for me, I would willingly go, provided the Government allows my view of the subject to be correct, and will authorize me to reconcile the pangerans; without which no treaty would be permanent, and our siding with a faction and the worst faction, would probably lead to a civil war. I consider, besides, that Muda Hassim's character is necessary as a guarantee to the treaty, and to the safety of any small body of Europeans, and to the stability of the trade. Hastily to establish a settlement I consider rash, and it might prove disastrous. I shall therefore recommend a treaty, ensuring the coal of the country and security for Europeans; and, in the next place, a communication between

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the Governments for a year or so, during which we may see clearly the temper of the people, choose a proper site for an establishment, and remove the jealousy and fear which at present exist. To demand a settlement at once would, I think, frighten the Borneons out of their wits. These views, I am sure, are correct. How often we have failed in consequence of rushing to form a settlement without due knowledge of the locality! 1842.

May 22.—Royalist having received her cargo and stores dropped down; sails to-day from the mouth, that is, if she gets a breeze. May 22.

July 1.—I have been much occupied during the last six weeks with the affairs of Santah and Singè. The former has been for a considerable time under the government of Sheriff Sahib of Sadong, and has felt the devastating power of his tyrannical sway. The latter country I have myself visited, and have succeeded in making peace between that powerful tribe and the minor tribes of Simpoke and Sigu; and I have further had the satisfaction of reconciling the Singè with the Goon and Sibadat Dyaks, returning to Sarāwak highly gratified with the result of my negotiations. July 1.

At Sarāwak I found most alarming reports of an intended invasion from the united forces of Sarēbas and Sakarran, and received, moreover, the agreeable information that Byong, one of the leading men of the former river, had suspended a basket on a high tree, ready to receive my head when he returned in triumph from the conquest of my

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1842. country. I cared little for these idle threats, though I did not neglect taking the necessary precautions. A stout fence was fixed around the village; a fort was erected commanding the reach of the river, and my war-boats, twenty-five in number, were prepared for active service. I knew Sheriff Sahib to be a fiend and my inveterate enemy, and his undoubted power was not to be despised.

These preparations completed, a letter was sent to this monster from Muda Hassim, informing him that "the White Man" now governed the province of Sarāwak, and warning him to desist, whilst there was yet time, from his iniquitous incursions into a land over which he had no authority; and at the same time I wrote to the proud Sheriff myself, in terms that could not be mistaken.

As soon as these were despatched I set to work heartily in making the necessary arrangements for visiting Brunė, the capital city of Borneo Proper. I had heard nothing satisfactory relative to the Lascar crew of the ships Sultana and Viscount Melbourne, which I knew were detained by the Sultan, and I therefore resolved to proceed to the capital in person and endeavour to obtain their release, and at the same time to procure the ratification of the Sultan to the grant made to me ten months ago by the Rajah Muda Hassim, of the country and government of Sarāwak.

July 15. *July* 15.—At eleven P. M. proceeded, and reached the mouth of the river before daylight; went on board to breakfast; afterwards delayed by the non-

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arrival of the rajah's baggage-boat ; and when we had the things aboard, and had received the sultan's letters in state, and fired a salute, the ebb had run low, and the wind being scant, we could not sail till near low water, when we got under weigh in the hope of ridding ourselves of our crowd of friends, for the heat and the bustle were intolerable. Three of the rajah's brothers were with us, to see the last of Budrudeen and Musale ; the latter and Jalleludeen felt their parting bitterly. I must repeat, I think the better of them for it. I had fancied they had little or no feeling, when, in truth, their feelings are acute, and almost childish. We had not got out two miles ere a squall a-head forced us to bring-to, and when fine weather returned our friends all crowded round us again. However, we made the best of it. 1842.

July 16.—After breakfast weighed again with a feather wind, and stood out all day with the same weather; and about six directed our course for Tanjong Sirik. July 16.

July 17.—Wind moderate and fair all night, and at seven we sighted the low land within Tanjong Sirik. We kept hauling to the northward, and rising the land as we advanced, till two P.M., when we passed the point also, at a distance of about seven miles, in soundings of quarter-less five fathoms, the point bearing E. by S. The general direction of the land approaching Sirik is N. by E., all low, woody, and without any striking features. The depth of the bay, included between the Sadong July 17.

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1842. river and Tanjong Sirik is considerable, but not ascertained, and the land where it trends northward is also visible. Taking the large bay included between the principal headland of Sipang to the westward, and Sirik to the eastward, the following rivers occur:—

1. Buntal, Tabo, and Siraïl, betweeen Sipang and Poe, all shallow entrances to Sarāwak.

2. Moratabas, the principal entrance to Sarāwak.

3. Samarahan.

4. Sadong.

5. Batang Lupar, containing branches.

6. Serēbas.

7. Kaluka.

8. Niabus.

9. Rejang.

10. Balowi.

11. Palo.

Of these Sadong, Linga, Batang Lupar, and Serēbas have a bore. The Sakarran and Serēbas are predatory Dyak tribes; Balowi and Palo are inhabited by Milanows, a species of Dyaks, reported to be civilized and industrious; and, from the examples I have seen in panglima Dallam and his men, they may be justly accounted such. Up the Rejang river is the town of Seriki, the most flourishing place on this coast, and in the interior the tattooed tribe of Kanowit. Here likewise is the principal and most friendly communication with the Kyans, of the interior, independent people, whom the Malay chiefs

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treat with great respect. To the eastward of Tanjong Sirik is some low land, which two nakodahs on board agreed in saying was an island called Bruit or Pato, indifferently. They state, likewise, that close into the point, and within this island, is a deep channel; but that further off there are shoals of hard sand. The Royalist, on her former voyage, at from three to four miles distance (guessed) had four fathoms: at any rate, it is as well to give this point a good wide berth, especially in the night. 1842.

July 18.—Crossing the bay between the points Sirik and Barram, at 3 P. M., met with one of the heavy squalls of the climate, from north-west, which knocked up a terrible sea. I have scarcely in this country seen any thing worse. Our soundings were from 15 to 20 fathoms, and quite clear of danger. There is, however, a patch — probably the one laid down on the charts — on which the Royalist struck soundings of twelve fathoms from deep water; but this cannot be called a danger. The wind and sea astonished the weak minds of our native friends; but the two pangerans behaved with becoming composure, and seemed to apprehend nothing, whilst the nakodahs (who knew a little) entertained great dread, more especially of our losing our way, as we had been some hours out of sight of land. July 18.

July 19. — Daylight, two mountains in sight, and we gradually rise the low land between them. The southernmost is called Si Lungan, the northernmost Lambire; the latter being a good mark for July 19.

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1842. Tanjong Barram, which is low, and lies to the northward and eastward of it. Between Lambire and Tanjong Barram is Meri, the land near which comes in sight rather before the rest, being somewhat higher.

Si Lungan has some height and extent, and shows from seaward like several islands. Within the bay is the high mountain of Tatow; but we did not see it. The Tatows are tattooed, and use the sumpitan, are reputed to be savage, and ravage the coast, so as to prevent the trading-prahus from coming along it. Latitude at noon, 4° 36′ 26″; Tanjong Barram bearing 85½, ten miles distant. Barram is low, woody, and pretty well defined, the trees being rather higher than those immediately behind it. Lambire showed notched and long, bearing S.E. by S. Gunong Maolu bears 115° over the low land. This mountain or range is high—say 5,000 feet, and situated in the interior of Borneo Proper. The entrance to Meri is where the low hills which continue from Lambire to the northward sink into the plain. The mouth of the Barram river is at the point of the same name. From Tanjong Sirik to Tanjong Barram, the following rivers are in the bay:—

Mattu, inhabitants, Milanow.

Elas (Egan, up the river), inhabitants, Malays and others.

Oya, inhabitants, Malays, Milanow.
Muka ——— Malays, Milanow.
Balarian ——— Tatows.

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1842.

Tatow, inhabitants, Tatows.
Bintulu ——— Malays and Milanow.
Meri ——— Malays and Milanow.
Barram ——— Kayans.

Besides the rivers here noted, there are many others along the coast, which are smaller, and without inhabitants. The river Barram is the egress of the Kayans. Bintulu and Barram are famous for camphor, and Muka and Oyer export large quantities of sago.

At 3 P. M., Tanjong Barram bearing south by west, or south three quarters west, distant twelve miles, the longitude was 113° 59′ 21″.

Passing Barram, the coast is clear of all danger*, and shores, bold with red cliffs, occasionally well cleared, and inhabited by Kadyans. An E. N. E. course is direct for Labuan. Tutong, and other rivers, lay between Barram and Borneo. We lay-to at midnight, having sighted the islands, and early this morning made sail again with a beating wind. Labuan, or Anchorage Island, and the rest of the group, are all low and woody. The westernmost island is called Kuraman; the two others near it are the Great and Little Rusukan. Then there are Ino Kolim, Da-at, and Malankasan. These are the islands. The Pulo Pusaria of Dalrymple's Chart is stated by the natives to be joined to the main, and is called Sari. On approaching, the first leading mark is a small conical hill on the main to the

* Subsequently several shoals have been discovered.

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1842. westward of Moarra, called Tampiang, Pisang, or Plaintain Dish: it is not high, but remarkable, and points out the locality of Moarra and the reef. On nearing, the islet and rocks on the Moarra reef become visible: between these and Rusukan is a broad channel, and standing in the middle of it, the low south east point of Moarra is made out; but the river is not open. On the extreme of this point are a few detached trees, and when they bear south-west by west the river is well open, and you may boldly run in and anchor.

The soundings are not very regular. In going in, the south-east point bearing south-west by west, and south-west, we had nine fathoms with casts of seven and six. When in the river channel, the water gets discoloured, and the soundings more regular, being six and seven fathoms in the centre of the channel, and shooting toward either bank, and getting hard. The scenery is fine: an amphitheatre of noble mountains of various heights. Some of the highest inland, as far as I could judge, run east by north, or E. N. E. The others skirt the coast. The outline is irregular, and the mountains fade into hills, which again leave slips of low land near the shores: add to these the islands, the sea, and the breaking and extensive reef, and the description is complete. We anchored well out, on a strong ebb running against us.

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CHAP. XIX.

MR. BROOKE'S PROCEEDINGS. — VISIT TO BORNEO PROPER. — FORMAL CESSION OF SARĀWAK. — CHARACTER OF THE BORNEANS. — MANNERS OF THE NATIVES. — CEREMONY OF READING THE PROCLAMATION. — CLIMATE. — VALUE OF TIMBER. — CONDITION OF INHABITANTS. — PREPARATION FOR ASSAULTING HOSTILE DYAKS. — DIVISIONS OF THE TOWN. — NEGOTIATIONS. — ARRIVAL OF THE NATIVE FLEET. — INDIFFERENCE CONCERNING THE ACQUISITION OF HEADS. — CHARACTER OF A DYAK CHIEF. — DYAK JUSTICE. — CUSTOMS. — HEAD-HUNTING EXPEDITIONS. — MARRIAGE. — BURNING THE DEAD. — EXECUTION OF PARIMBAN AND PA TUMMO.

1842.

Captain Mundy's Narrative.

THE proceedings of Mr. Brooke at the capital are detailed at some length in Captain Keppel's work, and I will only allude to them here so far as is necessary to continue the thread of the narrative.

It was on the 25th of July that Mr. Brooke proceeded on his first visit to the chief city of Borneo Proper, and on his arrival he was immediately admitted to the presence of the Sultan. At this audience he was introduced to the Pangerans Usop, Mumin, Tizudeen, Bahar, Kurmaindar, and other princes of note, and the usual compliments over, they entered at once on the business of the day.

The Sultan expressed himself unreservedly in favour of a reconciliation with his uncle the Rajah Muda Hassim, gave up the twenty-six Lascars wrecked in the Sultana and Viscount Melbourne, without ransom, and liberated three others (who had been captured and sold by Sheriff Osman of

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1842. Malludu), on the payment by Mr. Brooke of twenty-five dollars; and finally, His Highness declared himself favourable to the grant of the territory of Sarāwak made by Muda Hassim to Mr. Brooke in September 1841. The negotiations on this important subject continued for several days, during which Mr. Brooke had many private interviews with the Sultan, the whole of which were conducted with great cordiality, or at any rate with repeated expressions of friendship and high regard to Mr. Brooke on the part of the monarch; and finally, on the 1st of August the contract appointing Mr. Brooke Rajah of Sarāwak was signed, the Sultan's great seal duly affixed with the signatures of the required witnesses, and on the following day Mr. Brooke re-embarked on board the Royalist, and on the 16th re-anchored in safety at Sarāwak, where he was received with every demonstration of joy by all classes of his subjects.

I will now return to Mr. Brooke's own journal, which re-commences on the 20th of August.

Mr. Brooke's Journal.

Sarāwak, August 20. 1842. — Having obtained the Sultan's signature in due form to my holding Sarāwak, my tenure here is as good as it can possibly be, as valid a title as the Company's to Singapore. The great advantage of this is, that I shall in a few months be quite rid of all the pangerans, who are the great obstruction to trade.

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1842.

It may be truly said of the Borneans, that they are "children of a larger growth." Their rulers are perfectly ignorant of Europeans, being educated (or rather brought up) in a way which renders it matter of astonishment that they should be some of them so good as they are.

In Borneo I freed twenty-four Klassies (Lascars) of the shipwrecked crews; for, although Government shows much zeal and readiness to recover any Europeans, they are surprisingly dilatory with regard to our native subjects, though, for the life of me, I cannot see where the distinction lies between one subject and another.

Nothing could exceed the civility of the Borneans, with whom I remained ten days; quite sufficient to discover to me the nakedness of the land, their civil dissensions, and the total decay of their power, internal and external. Indeed, situated as I am, I might extend my territory as much as I pleased, had I the means of paying moderately for it; and the English Government, by conciliatory policy, may gain any thing they wish for: and it would be a thousand pities, for want of moderate aid, and through short-sighted views, to allow another European nation to possess this fine country. That it must shortly claim assistance from some power I do not doubt; and if we reject their proposals, the Borneans will certainly turn to others, and when it is too late, we shall, as in the case of Java, find out its value and importance.

When we returned from Borneo, the Sultan's

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1842. letter giving me the country was read in public, and when finished we had a scene! Muda Hassim, who was standing, asked aloud, whether any one dissented; for, if they did, they were now to make it known. From the public he went to individuals, and made Makota declare his assent to my nomination. Muda Hassim then drew forth his sabre, and raising it, proclaimed in a loud voice, that any one who contested the Sultan's appointment, his head should be split in two. On which, ten of his brothers drew their krisses and flourished them in Makota's face, jumping and dancing, and striking the pillar by which he sat, over his head. A motion of Makota's would have been fatal: but he kept his eyes on the ground, and stirred not. I, too, remained quiet, and cared nothing about this demonstration — for one gets accustomed to these things. It all passed off, and in ten minutes, the men who had been leaping frantic about the room with drawn weapons and inflamed countenances, were seated quiet and demure as usual, and the flames of their dangerous passions were repressed in their bosoms, whence they seldom escape without more fatal results accruing.

All is going on very well indeed; and though I have a little trouble with one Dyak tribe, yet four or five others from the interior have sent to beg me to take them under my protection. Their ambassadors said, when I gave them audience, "That they had heard, the whole world had heard, that a son of Europe was a friend of the Dyaks."

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For the country, what shall I say? I could not wish a richer: its soil is fine and admirably calculated for the culture of rice, coffee, nutmegs, or cotton. There is a noble river flowing through the territory. The southern boundary is defended by a range of mountains, of an elevation which affords an European climate; and the climate, generally, is healthy and cool; the mineral productions are rich. Then we have woods which would supply all the dock-yards of Europe, and of the finest quality; for though we do not boast of teak, we have other timber equally hard and equally durable. But let me turn to the amount of good which may be done here. Never were poor people more oppressed or more wretched than in these countries; and from the great weakness of the native government there has gradually been a spirit of resistance awakened amongst them: a hope for better things which would induce them to take any protection, and to bless the hand that gave it. 1842.

The condition of the inhabitants would be ameliorated, and the unhappy Dyaks, an interesting and industrious race, be released from their wretched state of bondage and oppression. Christianity might easily be introduced amongst them: civilisation would advance, commerce be greatly extended, and this vast island laid open as a field for the enterprise and knowledge of enlightened beings.

Sept. 5. — I may continue my history of the Singè Dyaks. The great influence of Parimban, Sept. 5.

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1842. their chief, and Pa Tummo, the panglima, rendered it imperative that I should take some measures to establish my authority over them, which from the first they had been pleased to disavow. Their late measures brought matters to a crisis. They openly refused obedience, defied our authority, and declined holding an interview even with the Datus. They asserted, moreover, that they had killed the Sanpro and other Dyaks, because they were enemies, and that they would kill more of them.

The question was, how we could get these recusants into our power. It was proposed to me to assassinate in the Malay fashion; which proposition, I need hardly say, was rejected. To catch them was a hopeless task, as they positively refused to come down from their hill; I resolved, therefore, as the only alternative, to attack them. My measures were all prepared. In the first place, I sent the two patingis to the landing-place to insist upon our *interview there.* This was declined, as usual. They returned, and the next day I pushed them up again with eighty men, with directions to rush at the mountain. The difficulties of getting to their village were formidable; for, as I have before observed, the mountain is as steep as a ladder, and at the top the Dyaks have an embankment to protect them, from whence they can roll down rocks, and securely use their spears and other missiles on their ascending enemies. In short, it is a position, which, even with regular troops, I would hesitate

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to attack, more especially as the Dyaks defend the path with the ranjows, so often mentioned. The patingis were ordered, if possible, to ascend the hill, and in case they could not do that with a good chance of success, to build a house and fort at the foot, and wait for me. It was my intention then to divide our force into three parties, and whilst one made a false attack on the usual ascents, the other two were to try from opposite sides of the mountain to gain the summit, and thus be over their village. There was, however, another cause of dread, which arose from the fears of the larger part of *our army*, which had, before the Siniawan war, been three times defeated by these Dyaks; and whilst the remembrance of their defeats damped the ardour of our followers, it encouraged the Dyaks. 1842.

The patingis, by my direction, went up with the eighty men; but the Dyaks, though unprepared, were aware of their arrival, and in the middle of a dark and rainy night, Parimban sent down a valuable jar from the Dyaks, with a request that they would wait a day or two; and when the delay was refused, his ambassador begged for a few hours only. Even this they did not gain, for as soon as day broke the party marched; and so rapid was their pace, that of the eighty men, only about ten were up with the patingis. On the hill-side they found scattered parties of Dyaks, planting ranjows, defended by about a hundred men, who, with drawn swords and cries, endeavoured to intimidate. As, however, our small party came up, they took to

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1842. flight, and the village was taken, and the two chiefs also fled.

I may remark, that their village, or town, was divided into eight or ten different parishes. The kampong of the chief was the only one occupied by us; and, though the rest of the inhabitants escaped, their property was secured. The day following eighty more men were pushed up, and the day after I went up myself with a body of two hundred, not as yet knowing the success of the patingis. Parimban's kampong I found occupied by our force, and plundered; and, what was worse, was the destruction of the cocoa trees and betels. It grieved me to see the stately cocoa nut totter and fall, and the graceful betel yield its slender trunk to the merciless axe; but this is the licence of war, and may not be resisted entirely.

The young chief endeavoured all he could to get us from the hill; but I was resolute and stern, invariably expressing my intention of occupying the place, even for a year or two, till Parimban came in: at the same time I pointed out the certain ruin of the tribe, the full means I had of hunting Parimban, with other Dyaks; in which pursuit, many of their people would be killed. In short, I said all I could to terrify; but without much effect until the Dyaks of the left-hand river, viz. the Sanprò̀s, Sigù̀s, Sabungò̀s, &c., absolutely arrived at the landing-place to the amount of 200 men. When this was certain; when some of their own people reported that they had seen the tummi (or

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COMBAT OF DYAKS.

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enemy), the rest got alarmed, and as their women and children had fled to the jungle to escape us, they now returned from a greater source of terror, and by returning, they were safe and protected. The same fear quickly brought Parimban and Pa Tummo to terms, and they met us, clothed in white, which, as I have before said, is a symbol of peace and of submission. I told him I would not kill him, but take him to the rajah, and he would then know what were the rajah's orders. He agreed, and soon resumed his usual tone, and declared before numbers, that he cared nothing about the losses he had suffered, for he would make the tribe repay him every thing. I could plainly observe that the Dyaks of his tribe, and the others we had with us from Sarambo, Bimbok, and Panonjow trembled before him, and all seemed to dread the retaliation which he would inflict when the storm had blown over. 1842.

Last evening I separated from the fleet, which arrived this morning loaded with spoil, consisting of tatawaes, gongs, mats, rice, salt, fowls, and such-like; but I am happy to say that this brief campaign of seven days has been finished with success, and without the loss of a single life, without injury to any property except Parimban's, and that of his immediate relations. He and Pa Tummo were this morning put in irons preparatory to their execution. I had some reluctance at first to the idea of putting them to death; but from what I have now seen, I am assured of the necessity of the step for

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1842. the safety of many other lives. I have mentioned that the chiefs of Sarambo, Bimbok, and Panonjow, were on the mountain with me, and from these men I got some valuable information of Dyak habits and customs, and I had myself an excellent opportunity of judging their manners and minds.

Sept. 6. *Sept.* 6. — Yesterday evening met the Orang Kaya Sanpro, and the Orang Kaya Sigu: offered them the heads of their tribe which I had brought down from the mountain of Singè. They declined, however, taking them, alleging as a reason that it would revive the sorrows of their relations. It was sufficient, they said, that they had been brought from the mountain, and that I might dispose of them.

Generally speaking, the Dyaks of the left hand river are more mild than those of the right, and they show a great indifference to the acquisition of heads. I was proposing last night (in order to reconcile them to my law, that they would not kill within our own territory), and that whenever I went against Sarēbus, they should accompany me. They readily agreed to go, but the Orang Kaya Sanpro added, "We do not go for heads, for it is a long time since we cared about taking them." Singè is certainly the most intractable and wild tribe, numerous but less brave than the Sanpro, to whom they have paid three times for peace. This arises in a great measure from the character of their chief Parimban; whose influence, during a life of sixty years, and a reign of thirty, has been most detri-

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1842.

mental to the Dyak character. One of his greatest crimes, and one the Dyaks themselves complain of, is neglecting all their old customs, and introducing treachery into their warfare, which was before unknown amongst them. Their customs in war were as follows: — If one tribe claimed a debt of another, it was always demanded, and the claim discussed. If payment was refused, the claimants departed, telling the others to listen to their birds as they might expect an attack. Even after this, it was often the case, that a tribe friendly to each, mediated between them, and endeavoured to make a settlement of their contending claims. If they failed the tribes were then at war. Recently, however, Parimban has attacked without due notice, and often by treachery, and the Sow Dyaks, as well as the Singè, practise the same treachery. The old custom likewise was, that no house should be set on fire, no paddy destroyed, and that *a naked woman* could not be killed, nor a woman with child. These laudable and praiseworthy customs have fallen into disuse, yet they give a pleasing picture of Dyak character, and relieve, by a touch of humanity, the otherwise barbarous nature of their warfare.

Babukid, Bubukkid, or mode of defiance. — I have before mentioned this practice of defiance, and I since find it is appealed to as a final judgment in disputes about property, and usually occurs in families when the right to land and fruit trees comes to be discussed. Each party then sallies forth in search of *a head:* if one only succeed, his claim is

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1842. acknowledged; if both succeed, the property continues common to both. It is on these occasions that the Dyaks are dangerous, and perhaps an European, whose inheritance depended on the issue, would not be very scrupulous as to the means of success. It must be understood, however, that the individuals do not go alone, but a party accompanies each, or they may send a party without being present. The loss of life is not heavy from this cause, and it is chiefly resorted to by the Singè and Sows, and is about as rational as our trials by combat.

Marriage.—I have before mentioned some ceremonies of marriage; but, from what I now learn, these ceremonies would appear to be limited to particular tribes: others have no ceremonies. The female is at liberty to accept or refuse the male, and matches are made without the intervention of the parents, who, after the courtship, and the willingness of the parties, cannot refuse their consent. The male then presents to his father-in-law a present suited to his circumstances, and the bride returns with him to his house, when the ceremony, or no ceremony, is complete, and the marriage consummated.

Burning.—In burning their dead, the Dyaks have no ceremony or prayers; but they burn, because they aver, that the smoke rises to the sky, and to Jowata, or God.

Sept. 7. *Sept. 7.*—At six o'clock in the evening, as the sun set, Parimban and Pa Tummo closed their earthly career. They were taken out to the rear

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of my house, and dispatched by the knives of the rajah's followers. I could not help being shocked, though the necessity was a stern one, and their death merited. Besides, their release would have entailed the destruction of numbers of my friends and supporters. 1842.

Parimban died with courage. Pa Tummo shrank from the execution of the sentence. Both were laid in one grave.

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CHAP. XX.

EXCURSION UP THE RIVERS. — MAGNIFICENT SCENERY. — DYAK RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES. — CHINESE ESTABLISHMENTS. — ANTIMONY ORE. — HOME POLITICS. — REFLECTIONS. — PREPARATIONS FOR GOING TO SINGAPORE. — LEAVE SARĀWAK. — ANAMBAS ISLANDS. — ARRIVAL AT SINGAPORE. — BORNEAN COAL. — SPECULATIONS ON BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN THE ARCHIPELAGO. — LETTER TO MR. WISE. — NEWS OF A PIRATE FLEET. — STEAM NAVIGATION IN THE ARCHIPELAGO. — PROSPECTS OF FUTURE TRADE. — EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PIRATES. — HOSTILE COLLISION. — VISIT OF CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO MUDA HASSIM. — GRAND NATIVE FESTIVAL. — RELICS OF THE TRIBE. — DEER AND WILD HOG SHOOTING. — DEPARTURE OF THE DIDO. — INFORMATION CONCERNING PIRACY. — ACCIDENT TO THE SAMĀRANG. — DIFFICULTY IN ENTERTAINING THE SHIP'S COMPANY. — ARRIVAL OF VESSELS. — SAIL FOR BORNEO. — ATTEMPT TO OPEN A TRADE. — PERPETUAL CESSION OF SARĀWAK. — CHARACTER OF PANGERAN BUDRUDEEN.

1843.
Jan. 20.

Jan. 20. — I HAVE now been nearly two years in Sarāwak, without moving beyond the boundary of my newly adopted country, unless to punish the wild tribes who have made excursions across our frontier.

I feel that so long and continuous a residence amongst the people has consolidated my government, and endeared me to the inhabitants of every class — and I shall now prepare for an excursion to the Straits, when, perhaps, I may interest the mercantile community in my new settlement.

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During the close of last year, I had a visit from my friend Elliot, who remained with me about two months; he had his observatory, his dipping needles, his variation needles, and all the apparatus of a man of science. During his stay, we went a brief excursion up each river. The scenery on the left bank is *magnificent* — its limestone precipices — the dashing stream — the sylvan vistas of rock and foliage — its diversified outline of peaks and mountains. Between Sanpro and Sabungo is a limestone cave, which goes beneath a mountain — dark and dismal, but at the far extremity is a gothic window, which might suit Tintern itself. One night we passed at Sanpro. The Dyak inhabitants are remarkably mild and amiable, and I had proof positive that they do pray to Jowata. Small cups of yellow rice, mixed with chilis, were presented to me, and each touched in succession, and the chiefs then scattered the contents, muttering a prayer to the Supreme Being. I may mention likewise that the Sanpros are, or claim to be, the original stem whence the other Dyak tribes of Sarāwak are derived. On the right-hand river is a scene of greater industry, and we visited the four Chinese establishments of Siniawan, Tundong, Bow, and Salingok. The first place is laid out in gardens — the second the point whence the antimony ore is embarked — and at the last two are gold mines. We passed two nights with the Chinese, one at Salingok, and one at Tundong, and nothing could exceed their kindness and attention. I feel how well they are

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1843. disposed towards me, and how necessary I am to their success. I likewise visited the locality of the antimony ore, which lies at the foot of a limestone hill, in boulders on the surface, or embedded some depth. At the Simbok Kunsi's place, it is found in a stiff clay in a valley, and at Bidi — the last I have not yet seen, — the ore differs; that of Bidi is finer and closer grained; next is the limestone mountain, worked by the Sanlku, less close in the grain, and that in the clay is soft and porous, probably depending on the degree of pressure beneath which it was originally cooled.

We ascended the Sarambo mountain. The height of Panonjow Elliot made 1193 feet, and giving 600 above, will make the mountain 1793. From Panonjow is a view which well repays the rough walk — mountain, and vale, and hillock, rivers and sea, — such a prospect, and such a country! Sarambo is granitic, in the midst of the mountains of primitive limestone. Three Dyak tribes are located here, viz., Sarambo, Bimbok, and Panonjow.

Of the home politics I may here remark, that the great object now is to get rid of Makota, and afterwards of the rajah, Muda Hassim; when the latter is gone, I doubt not Sadong, Sakarran, and Sarēbas will be insolent, but we can chastise them, and if necessary, I doubt not, a league could be formed of Sarāwak, Singè, and Rejang against them, offensive and defensive.

I have written this at the commencement of the year. It might be more interesting, if I wrote

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every day, but I doubt whether the interest would repay the trouble; and to be a regular built journal keeper — a diary indicter — a person must write *con amore;* his mind must be at rest, or at any rate, but pleasantly excited. My mind is distracted and uneasy, not only with the business and trouble; the risk, and all the other form of annoyance,— but, above all, with the burden of pecuniary responsibility. This is the stone which drags my mind down; sink, sink, low spirits and low fever, all about pounds, shillings, and pence. 1843.

The arrival of Dr. Treacher has been very opportune at this moment, though I do not exactly see what arrangements are to be made for the future establishment of our increasing community. Whether property should be made into shares, and so form a kind of primitive society, and then all work independently; or whether it should be in the shape of a joint-stock company, is a question yet to be decided. I shall, however, proceed myself very shortly to Singapore, for though I cannot but feel, that whilst here I am the friend, the main-stay, and benefactor of many, yet my presence, for a short period in the straits may, in several ways, be beneficial to my poor Dyaks. It is true, that the happiness or misery of ten thousand of the inhabitants of Borneo is a matter of very small interest to the civilised world, and that a half per cent. rise or fall in the three per cents. is of greater importance than the life and death of these miserable people; still the English public is a kind public,

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1843. and as I have no wild scheme or speculation to propose or offer, perhaps my simple statements of the present condition and future prospects of a most interesting class of our fellow beings may be listened to, and to the governor of Singapore, who is both talented and liberal, I can always freely communicate my plans and sentiments.

Jan. 25. *January* 25. — My preparations for starting are completed, and to-morrow I shall hope to get fairly off.

Feb. 9. *February* 9. — We got clear of the Sarāwak river yesterday, and are now off the Anambas Islands, which belong to the rajah of Linga. The natives do not know the term "Anambas;" it is probably a corruption or mistake of Amam-blas (sixteen); all the smaller islands and islets have names, but it is only the inhabitants who know them. Silk cloths, sago, cocoa-nut oil, betel nuts, palm sugar, mats and tortoiseshell, are produced, or manufactured, at these groups. Fine boats are built at most of the islands. The Orang-laut, or men of the sea, live in their craft, as those at Singapore do in their sanpans. With Anambas I now also include the Natunas and Timbālans. We have now delicious weather, cool and fresh, and every evening the comet is seen with a tail of at least twenty degrees, its bearing being about west-south by half south. Should the breeze continue, I may reach the straits to-morrow.

March 31. *Singapore, March* 31. — I have received long arrears of correspondence from England. There

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seems to be great anxiety respecting the coal districts in Borneo, and I am directed to make all possible inquiries on the subject. This I will do and also endeavour to procure an analysis of it. I have already ascertained that there are two sorts of coal, one of which, I believe, is equal to the best Newcastle, and the other about the quality of the Llanelly Welsh. 1843.

The proper course for the British government to pursue would be, to obtain the monopoly of the Borneo coal, with the cession of the island of Labuan at the mouth of the Brunè river; and I feel confident, that the sultan might easily be induced to make this grant; indeed, in the present state of Borneo Proper, the rajahs would cede any amount of territory, provided there was a clause in the agreement, promising British protection from the pirates. It will probably be urged by the Dutch, that under the treaty of 1824, no European nation can hold land in Borneo, but it is evident from the wording of the twelfth article, that it refers solely to the islands to the south of Singapore, which lie between that settlement and Java, for if it were not so, both Australia and New Zealand are within the limits specified.

With respect to Sarāwak itself, I have freely offered to transfer it to the British Crown, under certain conditions, to be hereafter considered. Should the British Government entertain my proposition, it will certainly be necessary to make new arrangements with the sultan, as I now hold Sa-

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1843. rāwak under the Crown of Borneo, but I foresee no difficulty on this head, when the question shall be seriously entertained; and what mighty results might not accrue from decisive measures at the present moment! When I reflect on the past history of the very spot on which I am now writing — on Singapore! What was it only a few short years ago? — a morass — a desert swamp; but the British flag was hoisted — it soon became populous, and its prosperity since has been steadily increasing. The same will, in some degree, be the result in any Malay country, where the flag insures protection to life and property.

The British Government may, by establishing a post in the vicinity of the Borneo river, possess themselves of the coal districts; or, by friendly relations with the sultan, the way may be paved for taking the settlement when we please. I consider this object as one of great importance hereafter, if not immediately, and the danger is, that other countries may act before we do; indeed I cannot disguise my impression, that both French and Belgians would colonise, provided they had a good opening. The Borneo rajahs, though reconciled through my mediation, are only so apparently, and will never go on long without dissension and strife, and the losing party will, of course, appeal to the English first, and afterwards to any European power that will reinstate them. The letters which I have received from Mr. Wise are satisfactory, and though he seems to be anxious for further in-

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formation respecting my title to the government of Sarāwak, and entertains an opinion at variance with my own, on a few points connected with my new position in that quarter, I feel sure that our views are not, in the main, dissimilar. I entirely approve of his correspondence with the government, and have consequently written him a letter, of which the following is a copy:— 1843.

"Singapore, March, 1843.

"Your letter to Sir Robert Peel was all it ought to have been, and in case you gain an interview, I doubt not you will make a degree of impression; but it takes time to move a government, suspicious from the number of wily plans laid before it for consideration. I know my position — I greatly desire to have it recognised; but if recognition depend upon flattery, I will it not; if truth and candid dealing will not do it, I am willing that it should be left undone.

"I do not see why this opening should not lead to results similar to those which have taken place in India itself. Regarding expense and outlay, I may say that a steamer, a fort, and a few men will be necessary. There cannot be a doubt but that a large proportion of the Sambas Chinese would flock hither, and that a junk trade with China would be considerable. I may mention that, of course, I should stipulate for kind treatment of the Dyaks, and the reserve of certain portions of land for the small Malay population of Sarāwak.

"My private news is good. We decidedly

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1843. flourish and advance. We are peaceable, and justice is maintained, and security afforded.

"The reason why I did not earlier make known my position and views, arose from reluctance to appeal to the Government or the public, until I had tested their stability. Now I can fairly say, that if one person can hold the country for a year, how easy would it be with a moderate force. I hope they will give me some assistance, or at any rate a recognition.

"In the event of your expectation of success being realised, you may rest assured that the arrangements will be easily effected. It must be remembered, likewise, that holding Sarāwak under the Crown of Borneo, a new arrangement must be made with the sultan before it can pass into the hands of the British. No difficulty exists; and in the present state of Borneo Proper, for British protection against pirates and against themselves, the rajahs would cede any quantity of territory."

May 1. *May* 1.—We had information yesterday of a large pirate fleet being on the Borneo coast, and Mr. Church, the resident councillor, has forwarded the intelligence to Captain Keppel, who will shortly be here, and, as I know their cruising ground, it is not unlikely that her Majesty's ship Dido may come across them. A steamer has been in the roads from Manilla, for sale, an ugly vessel, for which the owners demand eighty thousand dollars, or sixteen thousand pounds sterling. The price is frightful; and one of half the size, built of iron,

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1843.

and drawing very little water, would answer my purpose better. Perhaps, some day, I may yet have the satisfaction of seeing such a one floating on the waters of Sarāwak. The thought of a steam communication with Borneo brings many reflections. What might not be performed with this auxiliary! As time advances, I myself get more confident about ultimate success. I feel assured that, in comparison with any other native power, my position is one of security and strength; but at the same time I clearly perceive that, for the development of the country, greater means are requisite than I possess or can command, and that I cannot give that confidence to settlers and capitalists which would result from recognition by Government. I can, however, make the people happy, save them from plunder, protect them from wrong, and afford security to life and property, and with this I ought, in reason, to be content. I have already made arrangements for one or two Chinese junks visiting Sarāwak next season, and the advent of the Chinese will give an impetus to the Malay and Dyak population, for they can dispose of their products at Singapore rates. I find the Chinese anxious to come, on account of the number of junks yearly arriving at Singapore having considerably lowered the profits on trade; and they, like ourselves, require fresh outlets. If the British Government accede to my views, the entire coast of Borneo will fall under our influence; and our influence, properly used, will gradually open river after river to a

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1843. direct trade, and each of these streams is an artery from the interior. At present the pulsation is but feeble, but the full current of commercial freedom would soon raise it to a healthy flux and reflux.

Protect the rajahs, settle the succession if appealed to on the subject, give a little money in proper quarters, and mix cheerfully and kindly amongst them, and you may get from them whatever you require; for the valuable staple articles they would give are of no value to themselves.

The field is new, and is clearly open to British enterprise; for there never has been a question about Borneo and Celebes being open to us; and why such indifference exists on so important a subject is to me inconceivable.

June 1. *June* 1. *Sarāwak.* — I resume my Journal again, after having laid it aside for a few weeks. Of my residence at Singapore it will be unnecessary for me to say more than that I received every attention from the governor, and assurance from him of his anxiety to forward my views for the suppression of piracy and for the advancement of commerce; and that I might rely on his affording the assistance of the Honourable Company's steamers placed at his disposal, when they could be spared from other essential duties.

It was at Pinang that I became acquainted with my friend Keppel. I do not dwell on the circumstance of the growth of the kind feelings I learned to entertain for him, or his voluntary and most generous offer of bringing the Dido to the coast of

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Borneo for the extirpation of piracy. That offer I gladly accepted; and, during our passage across, I was proud of the opportunity of guiding him to the haunts of Balanini pirates. We had the fortune to fall in with two small fleets: the first, of five large proas, each pulling about fifty oars, fled from us and escaped; the next, of six war vessels, attacked the boats, and in seven or eight minutes got ten men killed and twenty wounded. This will have shown Keppel the frightful state of the coast, and the necessity of active measures. He seems to be just the man for the work; for, with plenty of dash, his manners are so conciliatory towards the natives as quite to win their hearts. He has now been introduced to the rajah, Muda Hassim, with all native honours, on shore, and the rajah has returned the visit, and been received with a royal salute on board the Dido; and subsequently to this interchange of civilities, we have made an excursion up the river, to occupy the time which we required to prepare the native boats for the expedition to the Sarēbas, and thus Keppel has had an opportunity of seeing something of the Dyaks in the interior. We visited several tribes, and at Sarambo were fortunate enough to witness a grand festival. On this occasion the women danced with the men, and seemed to enjoy our presence exceedingly. At the end of their short petticoats were jingling bits of brass, which kept "making music" wherever they went. The dance was performed by four men, two bearing human skulls, and two the fresh

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1843. severed heads of pigs. Several women bore wax lights on brass dishes, or yellow rice. They danced in line, moving slowly backwards and forwards, and carrying the heads and dishes in both hands; and at times the women knelt in a group, with the men leaning over them. What I particularly remarked, however, was the relics of the tribe, deposited in a small room at one end of the apartment where they danced. These consisted of several smooth stones, resembling the *priapus* of the Hindoos, some deers' horns, and other inferior trumpery. The stones are very like those so frequently seen in the temples in India, and here they are held in the highest veneration; but the only account I could get about the matter was, that they had descended from their ancestors, when they first became a tribe, or when they first inhabited the mountain. The tribe, however, could not exist: sickness and plagues, and war and defeat, would follow the destruction of these sacred relics.

I was also able to show Keppel some deer and wild hog shooting; where but two years ago I had seen them in numbers, we now only found them after much hard walking and fatigue, and consequently the sport was not very good. It was, however, satisfactory to me to know, that the scarcity of the game was entirely owing to the continued peace enjoyed by these warlike tribes, which had enabled them to cultivate large tracts of country, formerly overrun with a wilderness of jungle. At the end of the month we returned to

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Sarāwak, and found all in readiness for the campaign against Sarēbas. 1843.

As Mr. Brooke gives no detail in his Journals of the campaign to which he has just alluded, I shall here introduce a short extract from Captain Keppel's Diary of the "Expedition of the Dido," which I venture to say will be found most interesting. Captain Mundy's Narrative.

"The force from the Dido consisted of her pinnace, two cutters, and a gig, besides the 'Jolly Bachelor,' lent us by Mr. Brooke, carrying a long six-pounder, and thirty of our men: the commissariat and ammunition being conveyed in a large tope of thirty-five tons. The native force was extensive, about a thousand men; including the Borneans, the Dyaks of Lundu, Sow, Singè, &c. Lieutenant Horton was to command the expedition. The force from the Dido was about eighty officers and men. The command of boats, when sent away from a man-of-war, is the perquisite of the first-lieutenant. My curiosity, however, would not allow me to resist the temptation of attending in my gig, and I had my friend Brooke as my companion. The whole formed a novel, picturesque, and exciting scene, and it was curious to contemplate the different feelings that actuated the separate and distinct parties. The odd mixture of Europeans, Malays, and Dyaks; the different religions, and the eager and anxious manner in which all pressed forward. The novelty of the thing was

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1843. quite enough for our Jacks, after having been cooped up so long on board ship, to say nothing of the chance of a broken head. We did not get far up the river on the first day, as the tope was very slow, and carried the most essential part of all expeditions — the commissariat. Every thing was in order, and, as we advanced, I pulled from one end of my little fleet to the other, and felt much the same sort of pride as Sir William Parker must have experienced, when leading seventy-five sail of British ships up the Yeang-tse-Keang river into the very heart of the Celestial Empire. Moving leisurely on with the flood tide, we brought up for the night at a place called Boling; but here the river presented a troublesome and dangerous obstacle in what is called the 'bore,' caused by the tide coming in with a tremendous rush, as if an immense wave of the sea had suddenly rolled up the stream, and, finding itself confined on either side, extended across like a high bank of water, curling and breaking as it went; and, from the frightful velocity with which it passes up, carrying all before it. We were now fairly in the enemy's country. At Boling we left our tope, strongly guarded, and having provisioned our boats for six days, we started, a smaller and more select party than before, but in our opinion equally formidable. Our force now consisted of the Dido's boats, the three datus from Sarāwak, and some Sow Dyaks, eager for heads and plunder. We arrived at our first resting place early in the afternoon. I secured

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my gig to the bank at some little distance from my fleet of boats; and, by myself, contemplated my novel position, — in command of a mixed force of 500 men, and some seventy miles up a river in the interior of Borneo, — on the morrow, about to carry all the horrors of war amongst a race of savage pirates, whose country no force had ever yet dared to invade, and who for more than a century had been inflicting, with impunity, every sort of cruelty on all whom they encountered. As the sun went down, the scene was beautiful, animated by the variety and picturesque appearance of the native prahus, and the praying of the Musulman, with his face in the direction of the prophet's tomb, bowing his head to the deck of his boat and absorbed in devotions, from which nothing could withdraw his attention. For a time, it being that of preparing the evening meal, no noise was made, it was a perfect calm, and the rich foliage was reflected in the water as in a mirror; while a small cloud of smoke ascended from each boat, to say nothing of that from my cigar, which added much to the charm I then experienced. Late in the evening, when the song and joke passed from boat to boat, and the lights from the different fires were reflected in the water, the scenery was equally pleasing; but later still, when the lights were out, there being no moon, and the banks overhung with trees, it was so dark, that no one could see beyond his own boat. Thus ended the tenth of June." 1843.

The above extract, written in simple and feeling

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1843. language, places the whole scene at once before the reader, and I much regret, that want of space will prevent my transcribing at length, the subsequent operations which were completely successful in every branch.

On the twelfth, Paddi was captured and burnt. — On the fourteenth, Paku was destroyed — and on the seventeenth, Rembas was taken by assault, with few casualties on our side, but considerable loss on the part of the enemy. Many guns and war-boats were also taken, the largest of the prahus, measuring ninety-two feet in length, by fourteen feet beam; and the plunder which fell into the hands of our native allies was immense.

With the fall of Rembas, the warlike operations terminated. The pirate-chiefs came into the terms proposed by Mr. Brooke, and the expedition returned to Sarāwak; shortly after which the Dido sailed for Singapore. I now proceed with Mr. Brooke's Journal.

July 1. Mr. Brooke's Journal.

July 1. — The Dido has departed, and I am again alone; but from information received, I may shortly expect H.M.S. Samārang, Captain Sir Edward Belcher, who is ordered to visit Sarāwak, and report thereon to government. If he will afterwards proceed to Brunè, I feel confident that he will be able to re-open a once valuable source of trade. The more I reflect on this important subject, the more I am convinced, that an extensive commerce with Borneo Proper might readily be

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established. I am also desirous of obtaining the cession of Sarāwak in perpetuity, as it must eventually benefit my country, and I do not conceive that there will be much difficulty, or much expense with the rajahs of Borneo; I am supreme, and they will grant what I require. How different is the manner of obtaining property here to that of civilised Europe; of the pangerans and great chiefs, six out of seven seize upon territory, and live in open defiance of the authority of their rulers with impunity, and, therefore, they are prepared to cede a portion of lands, which to them are useless, to any other chief who will assist in establishing their power. I firmly believe, that if I desired it, I might have a dozen rivers besides the Sarāwak, and if the British flag be once hoisted at any point along these shores, trade and prosperity will quickly follow; but with my government alone, the development must be slow, and not very sure; depending, as it does, entirely on my own life. I have lately received much local information relative to piracy, and find that in many places where the inhabitants themselves are not addicted to that crime, that encouragement is nevertheless given to regular pirates to visit them periodically. 1843.

The chiefs of rivers who encourage piracy, serve to foster it in a remarkable degree. Of these, Sheriff Sahib of Sadong is certainly the worst, and I am now convinced that Dyak piracy must be suppressed by a blow struck at him. The mischiefs and evils perpetrated by this man have been very great; he was the planner, the mover, the sharer of

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1843. plunder of all the expeditions against the unhappy Hill Dyaks: and so great was, and even now is, his repute with the Sakarran Dyaks, that the name they have bestowed on him is Bajong Brani, or the brave Bachelor, after their favourite bird of omen. Would that Keppel had remained to finish his good work! I parted with him with the greatest regret. It is to his honour, that what he did was done on his own responsibility, and I am glad to add, that he received the thanks and approbation of the commander-in-chief.

Aug. 1. *Aug.* 1. — The Samārang arrived in the middle of last month, and Sir Edward Belcher was ushered on the stage where I act my little drama. I resolved to show him and tell him every thing he desired to see or learn, and to leave the rest to his decision. I have, therefore, given him in writing a brief outline of my general views, which I hope he will forward to government whenever he may make his official report; for brief and barren as my statement may be, still a report without it would be useless unless he remains many months for the purpose of obtaining personal and practical knowledge of the country and of the natives. It is absolutely necessary in order to gain anything like really useful information, that much time and patience be given to the task, and all investigation and inquiry should be conducted in a calm and candid manner, and this, I trust, will be effectually carried out by the officer appointed to examine my position.

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1843.
Sept. 1.

Sept. 1. 1843. — The Samārang has been up the river. Sir Edward met the rajah, and the rajah visited Sir Edward. We passed a few days on the right-hand branch of the river, visited the Chinese settlements and Sarambo, and then returned, as the necessity of sailing was so great as to preclude all further inquiry. Sir Edward saw a small part of the country. I presume he was satisfied, and I conclude made a highly favourable report to the Admiralty. So far all was well. The Samārang on Monday morning, dropping down the river, got on the rocks within sight of my house, and, falling over with the ebb tide, filled. In the evening officers and men were ashore, and I had some difficulty in stowing and feeding them. Eleven days she was in this situation, when the spring tides and hard work got her afloat again. The fatigue and exposure endured by the officers and men were great, and the loss of property by the former much to be lamented. I found the officers very gentlemanlike and amiable, and my only regret is, that my small means enabled me to do so little towards their comfort in such uncomfortable circumstances. What I could do, however, I did, and they addressed me a letter from the gun-room, signed by the members of the mess, thanking me. This, with my answer, they wished to put into the papers; but I prevented them, for what could the public have to do with any little courtesy I might offer. Sure am I, had I not done every thing in my power to

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1843. assist them, I should have been a brute. Fatigue and exposure brought on sickness amongst the men. The Royalist was despatched to Singapore for provisions and aid, the passage there and back was made in twelve days, and the Harlequin, Captain the Hon. George Hastings came with the Royalist. The Samārang was, however, off the rock. After the Harlequin came the Company's steamer, Diana, then after an interval followed H. M. S. Wanderer, Captain Seymour, and last of all H. M. steamer Vixen from China direct. These, with the Royalist and Ariel (merchant vessel) made a fleet such as never before rode on the waters of Sarāwak. We were now ready for a start for Borneo Proper. I sailed in the Samārang on the 23d of August, the Harlequin, Vixen, Royalist, and Ariel, were to keep company, and the Wanderer returned to Singapore. I may here mention my young friend Brereton, who was a supernumerary in the Samārang, and left her to join his own vessel the Wanderer. Young and delicate he soon fell sick, and I was glad to take care of him, for, if ever the ties of relationship (however distant) claimed kindness and care it was here. We are now off the river Brunē, and events of importance will soon be decided one way or the other.

Oct. 1. *Oct.* 1. — We sailed for Borneo — quite an imposing fleet, and one sufficient to terrify the natives of the entire archipelago. Our passage was favourable, and I was very comfortable on board the

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Samārang. I found the condition of the capital worse than last year — the parties were more marked, their dissensions greater, their concealments less, and the desire of most for the return of Muda Hassim more apparent. The reason of this is, that Pangeran Usop aims at acquiring power, and ultimately possession of the throne. 1843.

Sir Edward Belcher met the Sultan without display, on account of the small pox raging in the town. The interview lasted for half an hour, and was succeeded by a dinner, not bad of its kind; that ended, the party returned, with the exception of myself and a few others. The day following I rejoined the Samārang, and for some days Sir Edward was busy in determining situations and surveying.

On the 4th September the Samārang and Harlequin, in tow of the Vixen, left the anchorage of Moarra, and I believe anchored subsequently off the island of Labuan, to examine the harbour.

We tried to open a trade for the Ariel, but found it impossible, as Pangeran Usop intrigued to monopolise the cargo, and to dole it out to the people at a profit; this was resisted by others, and between them there was no trade to be had. The last few days of our stay, people of their own accord came to the brig and brought goods; and it was intimated just before we sailed that the trade should be opened; but we had already been delayed too long, so the offer was refused, and a boat with 100 or 200 pounds of produce was sent off, after re-

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1843. ceiving which we got under weigh, and with favourable weather anchored off Sarāwak on the 23d of September.

The little trade in Borneo convinced us all how much might be done there, under more favourable circumstances. The principal object of my visit had been obtained; Sarāwak was ceded to me in perpetuity, and the rajahs of Borneo addressed a letter to the British government, expressing their desire to be friendly, to open trade, and to suppress piracy; but until permanent arrangements are made, these assurances cannot be relied on. Meanwhile I must lie upon my oars, until the English government decides how much, or how little, it intends doing; and how far I am to become a party in its arrangements. I am, however, not idle, but endeavour to gain all the information I can, and to lay matters in the fairest possible train, by keeping up an influence and interest over Muda Hassim the sultan's uncle. I do not find much difficulty in this task, for he is well-inclined to the English, and desires us to protect and support him, and will pay, in territory, for this assistance; besides this, my sway over him is very great, and just such a sway as a moderately firm mind and firm conduct, with conciliation, will acquire over a vacillatory and timid person.

Of Pangeran Budrudeen I have formed the highest opinion; he has the amicable and easy temper of his brother, Muda Hassim, and with it combines decision and abilities quite astonishing in

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a native prince, and a directness of purpose seldom found in an Asiatic. As a companion, I have ever found him superior to most of those about me, and there is something particularly interesting in sounding the depths and the shallows of an intelligent native mind, and observing them free from the trammels of court etiquette. It is essential to the good government of the natives, to treat them on a footing of equality. On this point most Europeans are grievously wanting; they always adhere to their own customs, feelings, and manners, and in a way force the natives to conform to them, and never give themselves the trouble of ascertaining how far these manners or habits are repugnant to the prejudices of Eastern people. I have seen so much of this want of consideration for native customs, that, had I power, I should be careful in the selection of persons to govern a new native country, and very severe on any display of harshness and severity. When we desire to improve and elevate a people, how ignorant of the first impulse of the human mind to treat them as an inferior race; and yet this is too generally the nature of European rule in Asiatic countries. There are, indeed, brilliant exceptions, and amongst them I name Sir Stamford Raffles, Mr. Crawfurd, and Colonel Farquhar, all of whom are still remembered, especially the first, with affection by the elder natives; and in places where they are known only by name, they are respected and talked of in the warmest terms of esteem and attachment.

1843.

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CHAP. XXI.

BREAK IN MR. BROOKE'S JOURNAL. — HE IS ATTACKED WITH FEVER. — LEAVES SARĀWAK FOR SINGAPORE. — MOVES ON TO PENANG. — THREATENING EXPEDITION AGAINST ACHEEN. — MR. BROOKE ACCOMPANIES IT. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING. — HOSTILE DEMONSTRATION. — MR. BROOKE WOUNDED. — THE EXPEDITION ABANDONED. — MR. BROOKE RETURNS TO SINGAPORE. — JOURNAL RESUMED. — THE LINGA RIVER. — INTERIOR CONSTITUTION OF SARĀWAK DYAKS. — POLITICS. — MINING SPECULATIONS. — OTHER RIVERS OF BORNEO. — DIFFERENT TRIBES. — INLAND GOVERNMENTS. — NATIVE CHIEFS. — BIRD ISLAND. — DESERTED RIVER. — FORMER INHABITANTS OF SIBUYOW. — PROSPERITY OF SARĀWAK. — CHINESE. — POLICY OF REMOVING MUDA HASSIM TO BORNEO PROPER. — SADONG. — MALAY POPULATION OF SAKARRAN. — PIRATICAL DYAKS. — SIR S. RAFFLES' OPINION CONCERNING ARAB INFLUENCE. — SUGGESTIONS FOR PROTECTION. — RETURN OF THE SAMĀRANG. — EXCURSION TO LABUAN. — SPECULATIONS ON ITS SITUATION. — AUDIENCE WITH THE SULTAN. — OFFER OF THE CESSION OF LABUAN. — VISIT TO AMBONG. — RETURN TO SARĀWAK.

1844.

Captain Mundy's Narrative

MR. BROOKE'S journal breaks off in the month of October of last year, as seen by the termination of the chapter just concluded, and he does not resume it till the 1st of July in this year; it will, therefore, be necessary for me to give some account of his movements during the interval.

It appears from other documents now before me that, in consequence of a sudden attack of fever, Mr. Brooke left Sarāwak early in January, and proceeded to Singapore for change of air and scene, and having, on his arrival there, heard that the

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commander in chief, Sir William Parker, was at Penang, he accepted the offer of Captain Seymour, and went on to that island in the Wanderer. In February the admiral despatched the two brigs, the Harlequin and Wanderer, under the orders of commander the Honourable George Hastings, to Acheen, in Sumatra, for the purpose of demanding satisfaction from the king, for the pillage of an Arab brig under English protection, whilst at anchor in the roadstead of Qualla Batta. 1844.

Mr. Brooke, from a belief that his knowledge of the native language might be useful in the negotiation, volunteered to accompany the expedition; and this spirited offer having been accepted by Sir William Parker, he embarked in the Wanderer, thereby giving Captain Hastings the benefit of his Oriental experience. On arrival at Acheen, the king and his ministers were apprised of the object of the mission, and promised to give the required redress; but after waiting several days, it appeared that there was no real intention of acting; evasive answers were returned, and excuses of the most frivolous kind given for delay. The vessels consequently left the port of Acheen, and sailed direct for Qualla Batta, where, after a fruitless attempt at negotiation, it was decided that hostile measures must be had recourse to. A party landed from the brigs, attacked the place, and burnt the house of the chief and the public buildings, and then, re-embarking, proceeded to the town of Murdu, where an English brig, called the

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1844. Robert Spankie, had been pillaged some months before. The same demands were here made for reparation, but were met with a positive refusal. The force was again landed, but encountered considerable opposition from the natives, who collected in great numbers on the banks of the river or creek to dispute the landing, and firing through the jungle at the boats, as they moved up, by which two of the men were killed and eight wounded, amongst the latter Lieutenant Chads, of the Harlequin (a true chip of the old block), severely; and Mr. Brooke, also, in two places.

Numbers of the enemy were killed; but the action taking place on the verge of the jungle, and on muddy and swampy ground, it was impossible to follow up the advantage, and it was therefore deemed advisable to discontinue the contest. The town of Murdu was then destroyed, and the boats afterwards regained the ships.

Having returned to Pinang, Mr. Brooke took leave of the admiral, and then proceeded to Singapore, where he waited the arrival of the Dido from Calcutta. When that vessel came in, she was found to be laden with treasure for China, and as Keppel could not then receive Mr. Brooke on board, he embarked in the Harlequin early in May, and proceeded direct to Sarāwak. Off the coast they found the Sakarran and Sarēbas Dyak fleet ready to commence their piratical course; but as the instructions of Captain Hastings did not admit of the delay necessary to receive the native force from Sarāwak, this large fleet of 200 proas reas-

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cended the river, and Mr. Brooke returned to his own government and patiently awaited the arrival of the Dido. 1844.

Sarāwak, July 1. 1844.—After a long pause I recommence my Journal, having returned here again with my health much restored by the change of air and scene. The intermediate time since I last wrote has been filled up with some personal adventures, but no events of moment have occurred in Sarāwak. I may briefly mention an excursion to Sumatra in H. M. B. Wanderer — combat at Murdu — wounded, return to Pinang, meeting with Keppel and the Dido, and my disappointment after much delay at Singapore at not being able to come here in that vessel; however, the Harlequin brought me over, and I am once more in my own house after an absence of nearly six months. It will now be interesting to retrace the events within and without Sarāwak during this time; and, in order to their more perfect understanding, I must briefly mention the positions of the various rivers on the coast, the characters of their rulers and inhabitants, and their political relation to Sarāwak; but let me in the first place remark, that the internal prosperity of the country has been steadily and rapidly advancing in spite of many and serious obstacles. The town has increased to three times its original size, and the Malay population, with their foreign and domestic trade, their employment in washing for gold and working an- July 1. Mr. Brooke's Journal.

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1844. timony ore, and with the demand for labour, is, with moderate industry (the industry of a Malay) not only able to live comfortably, but to grow rich. Forced labour, or any exactions, may be said to be abolished amongst them, and as they are without taxes, they pay by occasionally serving in boats against their enemies. I may also remark the infrequency of crime, and the few robberies which are committed (not more perhaps than six or eight in a year) are generally traced to relations of the parties occupying the same house.

The Linga river is, or was, governed by its self-constituted chief, Sheriff Jaffer. His people are not numerous, the proper Malays not exceeding one hundred males. The Balow Dyaks inhabit the interior; a warlike but well disposed race, resembling the Sitagows, not inclined to piracy, and amounting to about one thousand warriors. They are the sworn foes of Sarebas, and occasionally of Sakarran, with whom they carry on a war of extermination, principally, however, defensive on the part of the Balows, who are greatly outnumbered; but from their own account, which is corroborated by the Malays, they are a match in their proas for double the quantity of the Sarēbas or Sakarran. Fire arms are very rare amongst them. In the interior of the Linga river is a communication with Santang, or the Pontiana; and from the native account, which states the distance at a short day's walk, it cannot exceed thirty-five miles, and is probably less.

Proceeding up the Batang Lupar from the en-

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1844.

trance of the Linga for about a tide, is the junction of the Sakarran. The Batang Lupar runs to the right, and the Sakarran to the left, from the latter of which the Dyak tribe takes its name. Not far distant from the Linga entrance is the Motusan, where the river has found a new bed, and further up is the small river of Undop, on the right-hand ascending. The river is represented as broad and rapid, with shallow sand banks. The bore is said to be severe at full and change of the moon, but it is probable the natives may exaggerate its force, and at any rate there are spots where it does not break. The channel of the river is of considerable depth, and not less than twelve or fourteen feet. Beyond the junction of Batang Lupar and Sakarran, the stream narrows and deepens, the bore ceasing here, and both branches, it is said, run a long way into the interior, and it may be, that the Sakarran has an outlet to the Reang, or Egan river.

Sheriff Mullar, an elder brother of Sheriff Sahib, is the self-constituted chief of Sakarran, and, with about a hundred and fifty Malays, has his settlement at the junction; but he had little control over the Sakarran Dyaks, was obliged to wink at their piracies, and the Malays with him encouraged and accompanied them on their predatory excursions. Sheriff Mullar, from his inferiority of force, was subservient to his brother, Sheriff Sahib; and the Dyaks of Sakarran looked up to the latter as their chief as long as he encouraged them and par-

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1844. ticipated in their profits. These Dyaks are very numerous, (not fewer, perhaps, than ten thousand males), and the only distinction to be mentioned is, that the tribes on the Batang Lupar, are less predatory than those of the Sakarran, who were always in the strictest league with the Sarēbas, and the two rivers, in the interior, approach very near to each other. Whenever a large force was fitting out in Sarēbas, the volunteers from Sakarran joined them, and *vice versa*, and on making any grand excursions, the prahus of the two rivers met at a given point, which was generally the Sakarran river. The combined fleet is moderately stated at 201 prahus.

A short distance beyond the Batang Lupar is the entrance of Sarēbas, which I have before described, and I need here only say, that it is a branch of the sea, fifty miles up. The Sarēbas rulers have, since their defeat last year, been to Sarāwaka, and regularly (or irregularly) established as patingi, Laksemana and Bandar, but they have not yet returned to their government. The Dyaks, since their defeat, have been quiet, only a few having joined the Sakarrans in their predatory excursions.

The next river, and close to the entrance of Sarebas is Kaluka. It is a small place, under the government of Rejang, and the residence of an Arab priest, by title called Mollana, who manages its affairs. The last place I shall mention here is the Rejang river, represented as a fine stream, twenty miles from the mouth of which is Seriki,

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HOUSE OF PATINGI ABDULRAMAN AT SIRIKI.

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the residence of Patingi Abdulraman. The Malays are numerous and flourishing, with a considerable trade, and the interior is peopled by Kayans of various tribes. Rejang is the only river that has not been ruined by the Bornean rajahs, Arab chiefs, and pangerans, and which has continued under the rule of a native gentleman of the middling class, adding one more example to the many of the superior rule of the native patingi to the chief, who may be said to be a foreigner. I do not intend to say that it is good, but it is so by comparison. 1844.

Patingi Abdulraman has held himself aloof from Sheriff Sahib, and consequently incurred the impotent anger and hatred of that chief. He has never allowed piracy, or received pirates, and has always, been in a feeble and desultory way, at war with the Sarēbas and Sakarran Dyaks. Beyond Rejang is Mato, a small river, and then Tanjong Sirik or Sisor.

Sheriff Osman, an Arab, is the self-constituted ruler of the northern part of Borneo, and portions of Palāwan. He is, by all accounts, rapacious, oppressive, and piratical, directly or indirectly. His town in Malludu Bay is the stage of the Balanini, who are said, on their outset on a cruise, to receive food and arms from this worthy, repaying the advance in slaves or plunder. It must not be forgotten, that a boat of the Sultana was cast ashore at this sheriff's town, after that vessel was burnt, and that the crew were all sold as slaves. The Arab I met at Tampasuk was one of the number,

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1844. and for an Arab to sell an Arab is a heinous crime. The pirates of Tampasuk bought him for five hundred pieces of nankin, and treated him so well that he refused to quit them.

Besides the Malays of Sarāwak, and those of the contiguous rivers residing here, there is a small population of Chinese and Klings, who keep small shops, or raise vegetables. Of the Chinese Kunsi I cannot speak so favourably, for, although they are peaceful and well behaved, they do not produce the gold they undoubtedly get, and are extremely backward in paying their debts and revenue. This may be accounted for in several ways, and I still entertain every hope that their settlement will be final and prosperous. When we consider that a body of *two hundred beggars*, without food or the means of purchasing it, enter a new and wild country on a mining speculation, we shall cease to feel surprised at their slow progress, or the debts which they must inevitably incur. The Chinese are indefatigable and desperate miners, and they will run every risk and many hardships to procure gold. The speculation in mines here, as elsewhere, is slow and uncertain, and many a spot is tried, and afterwards rejected as not producing sufficient of the precious metal; and thus their labour is commenced, completed, and recommenced, before it is crowned with ultimate success.

In this pursuit they will borrow money on every side, with promises to repay, which may never be fulfilled, and expect the support and assistance

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1844.

of the ruler of the country. Here the working of antimony has, in some measure, eased their expenses, and allowed them a certain yearly sum for the benefit of their men; but the larger the scale on which they work the ore, the less in proportion they work gold, unless with an increase of men and expense. What leads me to hope well, however, of their ultimate success, is, that the two hundred beggars who originally came here, and struggled for many months with difficulties and even partial starvation, are now, comparatively speaking, comfortable, if they do not pay their debt to me. I hear no more of their difficulties, and though they be reluctant to show gold, it still finds a circulation in small quantities in the country. Another and more convincing proof is, that their numbers have increased from 200 to 400 at least, and that they have two stationary mines, which they regularly work, and which, consequently, we know must be paying. I repeat, therefore, that I hope they will be ultimately prosperous, and to forward the work, they should be harassed as little as possible for any outstanding debts they may have incurred at the outset.

Here, likewise, it may be mentioned that the tone they adopt at present is very different from what it formerly was, and that they are humble and obedient, and in no way consider themselves independent of the Government. The greatest drawback is their connection with Sambas, the democratical institutions, and the great secrecy

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1844. they observe in all their transactions. Still, I repeat, I hope well, and that patience and time will ripen the pear.

With respect to the Dyaks of my territory, the gentle and peaceably disposed Dyaks have greatly and satisfactorily improved in their present condition; exposed as they were, but a few years since, to every degree of wretchedness that slavery, starvation, and insecurity from hostile foes could inflict, they are now comfortably housed, safe from violence, and comparatively easy in their circumstances. Little is heard of war now amongst the several tribes, or of their hostile incursions beyond their own frontiers, and all this has been effected by no sudden or violent means, no rash innovations, but by a careful study of the dispositions and habits, as well as the prejudices of this naturally amiable and well disposed people.

Having thus briefly noticed the interior condition of my Sarāwak Dyaks, I will proceed to describe that of the other rivers of the country, which affords a striking contrast with the former in regard to the tyrannical chiefs, and their oppressed subjects.

The entrance of the Samarahan is but a few miles from the Moratabas, or eastern entrance of Sawārak, with, it is said, a channel of two fathom or more at high water, and there is likewise an interior communication for large boats. The river itself is wide, somewhat rapid, and free, as far as I know, from danger; and it is from the interior

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of this river, and its branch, the Terang, that the Dyaks at Sarāwak are principally open to the incursions of those of Sakarran. Three tribes belong to the government of this river, viz., the Bukar, Simpoke, and Siring, which are similar to the tribe of Sarāwak, but less fortunate, as not coming under my government. The Malays of late years have not been numerous, and are nominally governed by an Orang Kaya, and Pangawa, and Pangeran, but what with the violence and exactions of Sheriff Sahib, backed by his Sakarrans, and the repeated attacks of the Sarēbas, the spirit and courage of the people have been completely broken, and Muda Hassim's residence here has only added, instead of bringing relief to, their sufferings. They are a quiet, tractable, and inoffensive race; industrious for Malays, and might, with moderate protection, be made a valuable population, as their country is peculiarly fertile, and fitted for the cultivation of rice. I may observe, *en passant*, that there is a difference in appearance and language between these people and the inhabitants of Sarāwak, and as tradition derives the origin of the latter from Java, so the former are said to have been descended from the Pegùans. The fact is curious, and worthy of further investigation, especially as regards the peculiarities of their language. I may remark that the greater part of the population are now located in Sarāwak, tempted by the protection afforded, and driven from their own river

1844.

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1844. by the recent events which have occurred, and hereafter to be mentioned.

Several miles from the Moratabas is the entrance of the Sadong river, a fine stream, full three miles wide; not far from the north, on the left hand, ascending, is the Salongan, which runs up to the mountain of that name; and, less than half a tide, the small stream of Singè on the right, which in its interior approaches the Samarahan. Farther up on the left hand, is the Simanjang, which I have spoken of formerly. The Sadong runs a considerable distance into the interior, with many more branches, and a moderate walk from the landing place of * * * carries the traveller to Batu Kerangan, on the waters of Pontiana. It is by this water that the trade of the interior chiefly finds its way to Singapore.

The chief of Sadong, for the last twelve years, has been Sheriff Sabudeen, or, as commonly called, Sheriff Sahib, but this chief must not be confounded with the proper inhabitants of the river; for, until the government was given him by the Rajah Muda, Sadong was governed by its proper patingi and bandar, which officers still continue to hold an authority, though subordinate to Sheriff Sahib. The proper Malay inhabitants did not, probably, exceed five or six hundred, and these have been reduced, in consequence of bad government; and the Dyaks of the interior, of whom there are many tribes (Mugrat, Tumma, &c.), have suffered in the same manner as did the Sarāwak Dyaks previous

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to my advent, and in consequence have been greatly reduced. 1844.

Sheriff Sahib (as the title shows) is of Arab descent; his campong was at Singi, and the inhabitants are composed of his own class; numerous Borneo pangerans, nakodahs, and, indeed, of all the dissolute and rapacious tribe, who, acting in obedience to him, furthered their own interests. I shall revert to Sheriff Sahib again, and it will be here sufficient to say, that no place could be worse governed: the poor were poor indeed, and oppressed; the Dyaks ill-treated, and reduced to slavery, and all from the machinations of this chief. In short, Singi was an epitome of Borneo Proper, only that it was in the power of Sheriff Sahib to do more mischief, as he commanded the numerous and piratical tribe of the Sakarran Dyaks.

To the northward and eastward of the entrance of the Sadong river, is the small island of Burong (Bird Island), and further along the coast, a few miles, is the deserted but pleasant river the Sibuyow, the former inhabitants of which were Dyaks of that name, but these have long since deserted their own locality, chiefly owing to the proximity of the powerful tribes of Sakarran and Sarēbas. They are a peaceful and well disposed tribe, sufficiently warlike, but broken and separated: portions are located quietly in Sarāwak, whilst others still live in the various parts of the Sadong river. Those in Sadong are occasionally employed by Sheriff Sahib in attacking other tribes, but, except

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1844. when forced on such service, I never heard of their being piratical. Their great enemies were the Sarē-bas Dyaks, from whom they suffered greatly, and at Sadong they endured with the other Dyaks various and frightful oppressions. The greater part have either removed, or are removing, to Sarāwak; and, when gathered together, they will amount to about 200 or 250 families, or about 1000 or 1500 persons. Immediately beyond Sibuyow is the Batang Lapur, which has a high and wooded island at the mouth, called Tarisow. The entrance is between two and three miles across, and the current is very rapid. Ascending hence a few miles, brings you to the embouchure of the Linga river, as already described.

July 24. *Sarāwak, July* 24. 1844. — Sarāwak is prosperous, and fully bears out my former statements, even under unfavourable circumstances. No man could witness the condition of the Dyaks at present, and contrast it with their former miserable state, without feeling convinced, that much substantial good has been effected. The Malay population has more than doubled; the people, generally, are peaceful and gain employment; poverty is unknown and crime very rare. The Chinese are comfortable and peaceful, and gold begins to make its appearance as a currency. Nothing, indeed could be more favourable than our internal condition, with the exception of the continued residence of the pangeran, Muda Hassim. This pangeran and his brothers do no actual mischief,

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1844.

but there is a slight tendency to petty intrigue, and a great drawback to native trade, whilst they are present, for no native will trust himself within reach of his rajahs if he can help it. No people are more devoted or more submissive to their princes than the Malays, and nothing proves their continued bad rule more than the total alienation of all classes from them. It is highly desirable, therefore, to remove Muda Hassim and his suite to Borneo Proper, not only from his being mischievous here, but from his presence being necessary in the capital to uphold our influence there. I hope to effect this through Keppel's kindness, who will, I am sure, give his aid and advice to bring it about, and the advice of a man, backed by eighteen thirty-two pounders, is here pretty sure to be attended to. With the neighbouring rivers our grand struggle is approaching, and I am rejoiced that it is so, for it will at once bring about what otherwise might have cost us years to effect, viz., the removal of all the bad and pestilent rajahs and their followers, and the establishment of Sarāwak influence and rule over all the contiguous rivers. Good and evil are now fairly pitted against each other, and I repeat again, I am glad of it. Heaven help the right! To render intelligible our foreign policy, I must previously enter into a brief geographical detail. Contiguous to our Sarāwak river is the fine river of Samarahan, with a quiet population of Dyaks and Malays; it has been dreadfully

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1844. harassed by Sheriff Sahib; attacked and plundered by the Sakarran and Sarēbas Dyaks, and open to the demands of Muda Hassim and his brethren; the consequence is, that the quieter part of its inhabitants have left it to settle themselves in Sarāwak. About fifteen miles beyond Samarahan is the fine river of Sadong; and not far from its entrance *was* the town, inhabited by Sheriff Sahib, called Songi. The interior of Sadong has its Malay and Dyak population, all miserable and oppressed to an extreme degree, even to the seizure of their young children and women, when it suited the convenience of their plunderers. A few miles beyond Sadong is the Batang Lapur, within whose mouth are the two rivers of Singè and Sakarran. Singè has a population of about 100 Malays, and is inhabited by the Balow Dyaks, the majority of whom are quiet and good people; Singè has, or had, its resident demon, called Sheriff Jaffer.

Sakarran has a small Malay population, at the head of which is Sheriff Mullar, an elder brother of Sheriff Sahib. The Dyak population are very numerous and highly piratical. The next river to Batang Lupar is Sarēbas. The only difference between the Sarēbas and Sakarran Dyaks is, that the latter have all along been in league with Sheriff Sahib, gaining information and dividing plunder with him.

It must be borne in mind, that all these sheriffs are of Arab extraction; and if we refer to Sir Stam-

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ford Raffles, we shall gain the opinion of that high authority regarding the Arabs, and the evil influence they exercise in Malay states. Sheriff Sahib was born in Sakarran, whence he proceeded to Borneo Proper, and was there invested by Muda Hassim with the government of Sadong. For many years he was the sole ruler of all the rivers; destroying the Dyaks, oppressing the Malays, employing the Sakarrans on frequent piratical excursions, even as far as Banjarmassin, and fostering all the Illanun and other pirates, by driving a profitable trade with them. In short, he was entirely beyond the rule of Borneo, and became himself a sovereign prince. My power at Sarāwak gave him the first shake, and the arrival of the Dido, and the attack on Sarēbas, completed his downfall at Sadong. I intimated to him last year, that the Sakarran Dyaks would be punished, as the Sarēbas had already been, for their piracies, and recommended him not to have any further communication with that tribe. 1844.

The Dido's sudden recall to China alone prevented the meditated attack on Sakarran, and gave Sheriff Sahib time to breathe and to plot. At Christmas I crossed over to Singapore, and it was then that Sheriff Sahib resolved to remove to Sakarran. On my return here in May, in the Harlequin, his preparations were complete. Two hundred Dyak boats were with him, besides some fifteen Malay prahus with guns. They were posted in a small stream called Sabarangar, at the

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1844. entrance of Sadong, and cut up and destroyed every thing at sea, and much on land. The Harlequin was, most unfortunately, under orders to return home, and Captain Hastings judged, that he could not spare four days to extirpate these rascals, in which adventure I volunteered to assist with eight boats. The opportunity was lost: the flood which would have borne us on to fortune flowed past as sluggishly as any other tide, and Sheriff Sahib, marking his course with rapine, retired to Sakarran. Since then, neither party has been idle. His first step was to send Dyaks to sea, and into the interior of Sadong and Samarahan, where they have burnt eight villages, killed many people, and led away women and children into captivity.

On our side, we have cruised to prevent these atrocities, and have destroyed three of their strong holds. Sheriff Sahib is now fortified at a place called Patusan (or the cut), in the Sakarran river. We are waiting impatiently for the Dido, and probably the Phlegethon steamer, when we shall drive him away from the scene of his iniquities, or, if fortunate, kill him. The Dyaks may be corrected, but the influence of these sheriffs must be entirely broken, and their persons banished.

This once effected, there is no other power, even including Borneo itself, likely to visit or annoy us, and the utmost good will result to every river along the coast, for they will then look to and appeal to us, and we may gently influence their

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1844.

various governments. I have thus given a long detail of our present position, which I consider excellent; for I do not entertain a moment's doubt about Keppel's acting; and from a letter I have received from Mr. Church, I think the Phlegethon will come over in company with the Dido. To ensure our safety here, is effectively to visit the various rivers along the coast, and to keep open a communication with Singapore and Borneo Proper.

I would suggest a small steamer instead of a sloop of war; a small steamer, whose armament should include rockets and shells, would do more towards the suppression of piracy than half a dozen sloops of war. The commander of the Straits might, at the same time, be instructed occasionally to visit Sarāwak, and in case of an application from me, he might, if consistent with the public service, attend to my requisition. Supposing the steamer to be unattainable, I would suggest *two gun-boats* (or even one), similar to those at Singapore; one I already have, which is available to the government. One or two gun-boats, with from thirty to forty men each, would be the minimum of expense, and the force in the Straits would, if occasionally visiting the coast, be sufficient. The steamer, however, is preferable in every way. The duty of Resident would, I conceive, be to aim at the extension of commerce, the suppression of piracy, and to attend to British interests generally.

Much might be effected, and I will readily undertake the office, though it reduce me to poverty,

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1844. but it must be borne in mind, that the development by such small means will be gradual and slow, and not to be compared to the impulse given by the formation of a Crown colony. The gradual development is, in some respects, preferable, and especially in the superior protection it affords the aborigines, for it cannot be denied that the aborigines are certain to suffer when the white man's foot is set on their soil. We must remember, however, that, in the course of an improved policy, it will be necessary to raise a *de facto* ruler of Borneo, and to support him, and this ruler of Borneo must feel how totally he is dependent upon us.

Again, in raising up this ruler, it will probably be necessary to punish, or drive away rivals, and to make the inhabitants of the capital obedient to him.

I need add no more, but that I will willingly undertake, without burden (beyond the amount named) on the finances to carry out this policy, and to push it beyond the mere limits of this coast of Borneo. The only other expense I would suggest, a few presents the first time I went, as a man in authority, to visit the capital. This, I believe, is all; and I sincerely exclaim, that I trust, ere long, our task will be accomplished.

We are a very happy party here, and agree exceedingly well. No one could have been luckier in this respect: there is not a bad temper amongst us. Stonehouse is a great acquisition, and has

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taken charge of the household department. Steward is a great favourite; he lives near me, and is now building his house. Mine is just complete, and is called the "Grove." The situation is beautiful, with fruit and flowers in abundance. I count the days till the Dido arrives. 1844.

December 31. — Five months have passed away since I last wrote, and rapid has been the succession of events. The arrival of the Dido at the end of July soon put the whole community in activity, and early in August the operations against the Sakarran pirates commenced in earnest. On the 9th Patusan was destroyed, and Sheriff Sahib driven to Santung, on the Pontiana, and Sheriff Mullar to the interior of Batang Lupar. Sheriff Jaffer was pardoned and removed to Sangĕ. The Linga river was placed under the government of its proper officers, viz., Indra Lela, Lela Palawan, and Lela Wangsa; but I fear their capacity to rule the turbulent spirits around them. However, the result of Keppel's operations has been most satisfactory. The Sakarrans remain quiet. The Sarēbas almost friendly, and willing to trade with our Sarāwak people. Early in September we returned to Sarāwak, and found the Samārang at anchor off Moratabas; and, accompanied by Sir Edward Belcher, several excursions were made to the neighbouring rivers. By the end of this month both the Dido and Samārang had sailed to Singapore, and I was again alone. Dec. 31.

Early in October the Samārang, with the Ho-

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1844. nourable Company's steamer Phlegethon in company, returned here, and, through the kindness of Sir Edward Belcher, the Rajah Muda Hassim, and his train, were removed to Brunè. The steamer proceeded at once to the mouth of that river, whilst I accompanied Sir Edward to Labuan. The harbour is good, the situation agreeable, and probably healthy, water apparently abundant, and the locality in every way suited for a commercial establishment. We picked up several pieces of coal, and traces of it are strongly evident in the strata of sandstone. The position of Labuan is central, and commands Brunè the capital. The position, relative to China, is good, and the trade with the northern parts of Borneo, Sulu, Magindanao, &c. may be opened and encouraged. For the suppression of piracy no place could be preferable, as it would bring us within reach of the Illanun and Balagnini; and we should shortly be able to separate the good communities from the bad, which is the first step towards improvement; but Labuan is only a diminutive island, — a frigate, with a small steamer, a few gun-boats, a fort, a slight military force, and the English union jack, would constitute an establishment powerful enough, not only to protect the place, but to control all the neighbouring evil-doers; and, to do real good, these people must be controlled.

After this hasty survey of Labuan, I accompanied Sir Edward to the Phlegethon, anchored off Moarra, where we learned that pangeran Usop had fright-

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PANGERAN MUMIN,
Prime Minister of the Sultan of Borneo.

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ened the sultan into building four forts on Pulo Cherimon, and, as we approached, there were symptoms of hostility from that quarter. On seeing Muda Hassim's flag, however, their hostile intentions were abandoned, and their courage melted to wax, when the Phlegethon anchored off the sultan's house in Brunè. My object was to establish Muda Hassim's authority, — a delicate piece of diplomacy. 1843.

Pangeran Usop had gained an influence over the sultan, but the mass of the people were decidedly opposed to his rule, and we soon discovered, through the intelligence of Budrudeen, that the populace sided with Muda Hassim. At our first audience of the sultan, we found his highness as pliant and yielding as we could desire, and he declared that he would listen to no other adviser than his uncle, Muda Hassim; and, as to pangeran Usop, if Muda Hassim wished, he might kill him at once; and then added, "If my father rises from the grave, I will not listen to him, but to Muda Hassim." The interview was very satisfactory. Pangeran Usop and pangeran Mumīn both declared themselves ready to yield implicitly to Muda Hassim's wishes, and, on his ordering it, despatched a body of men to destroy all the forts which they had erected. They denied all intention of hostility to the English, and pretended that these defences were intended to protect them against the Balagnini, and other pirates. The poorer classes, who had heard of my government at Sarāwak, and the quiet and security

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1844. enjoyed by the inhabitants there, openly professed their desire *that I should myself remain* and govern them jointly with Muda Hassim. How different is Brunè now from that formerly represented by the first European travellers. Its power is departed, and it will fall a prey to the first invader. Their possessions in the north are already wrested from them by Sheriff Osman, of Malludu, over which country he exercises the most evil influence. He could easily be swept away if necessary. He is the man who sold forty lascars of the ship Sultana, wrecked in that quarter, part of whom I afterwards released from captivity. Sir E. Belcher talks of paying him a visit—I hope he may do so, and may tell him, that he will not be allowed to sell British subjects with impunity!

Tampasuk and Pandassan are the only other piratical places of importance on this coast inhabited by Illanuns, the other places are smaller and possessed by the Bajows, or sea-gipsies, and I believe they might easily be reclaimed from their roving habits.

Whilst at Brunè, I procured from the sultan a paper, offering the Island of Labuan to the British Government, which will facilitate the cession should Her Majesty's ministers determine on a colony in this quarter. My proceedings in the matter have prepared the native mind. The mass of the people would hail such a step with delight, and our possession of Labuan would be highly gratifying to Muda Hassim, and Budrudeen, by far the most able,

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the most decided, and the most friendly to the English of all the Borneans. I was also enabled to settle the coal question, — its locality was established beyond a doubt, in spite of difficulties thrown in my way by pangeran Usop and other chiefs, who attached an undue importance to its possession. 1844.

It was found at Cherimon and Ka Ingarran islands, but Sir E. Belcher and myself failed to discover it in any quantities on the main land, though we ascended the Kiangè stream for that purpose, the largest seen was about four feet wide and had been evidently worked by the natives. It was entirely owing to the authority of Muda Hassim that we were permitted to walk into the country, and under his government a supply might be obtained.

Early in the month of November I visited Ambong, and was pleased with the inhabitants, the Bajows. The aborigines are called Dusuns, extremely similar to the Dyaks. The great object of my visit was to inquire into the truth of a story, which for many years had been current at Singapore, that a European lady was in captivity in this quarter, and I ascertained that there was no foundation whatever for the story.

In the middle of November I was again in Sarāwak, and found all progressing steadily and well. Five hundred families had taken shelter within the province in the short space of two months, and from every quarter I received undoubted proofs of

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1844. the affection and respect of the tribes under my rule. Many of the chiefs and people have come down from the hills to welcome my return, and Lingire, the Dyak chief of Sarēbas, has also visited me. I believe he is now well inclined towards us, and I may here relate an anecdote about him during Keppel's campaign. Lingire's house was on the river's bank, near the village of Paku. The tide turned as we arrived at his residence and rendered our return necessary, and as Lingire's hostility had been most active, a party was sent to destroy it. Three times the house was fired, but the flames would not take, when the Dyaks from a neighbouring eminence shouted to us to spare the dwelling. Having been called to come down to us, three or four of them immediately did so, and at my request, Lieutenant Horton then spared the building. It appears that this act of clemency, amid the horrors of war, was remembered by Lingire and had made a deep impression upon him, so much so indeed, that it brought him over to our policy, and was the cause of his now trusting himself amongst us. I asked him whether, if I now went attended only by a few persons, he would guarantee my safety in the Sarēbas. He replied, yes, and that he would himself accompany me from place to place. That these Dyaks will have their disputes and wars amongst each other, it is natural to suppose, but their frightful piracies by sea, and their exterminating attacks on inoffensive tribes has been fostered and encouraged by the Malays,

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who lived by plunder, and will soon cease when the cause has been removed. 1844.

And now I have brought up my journal to the close of the year 1844, and, written as it has been at various intervals, and amidst manifold discomforts, it will probably be very disconnected and badly arranged.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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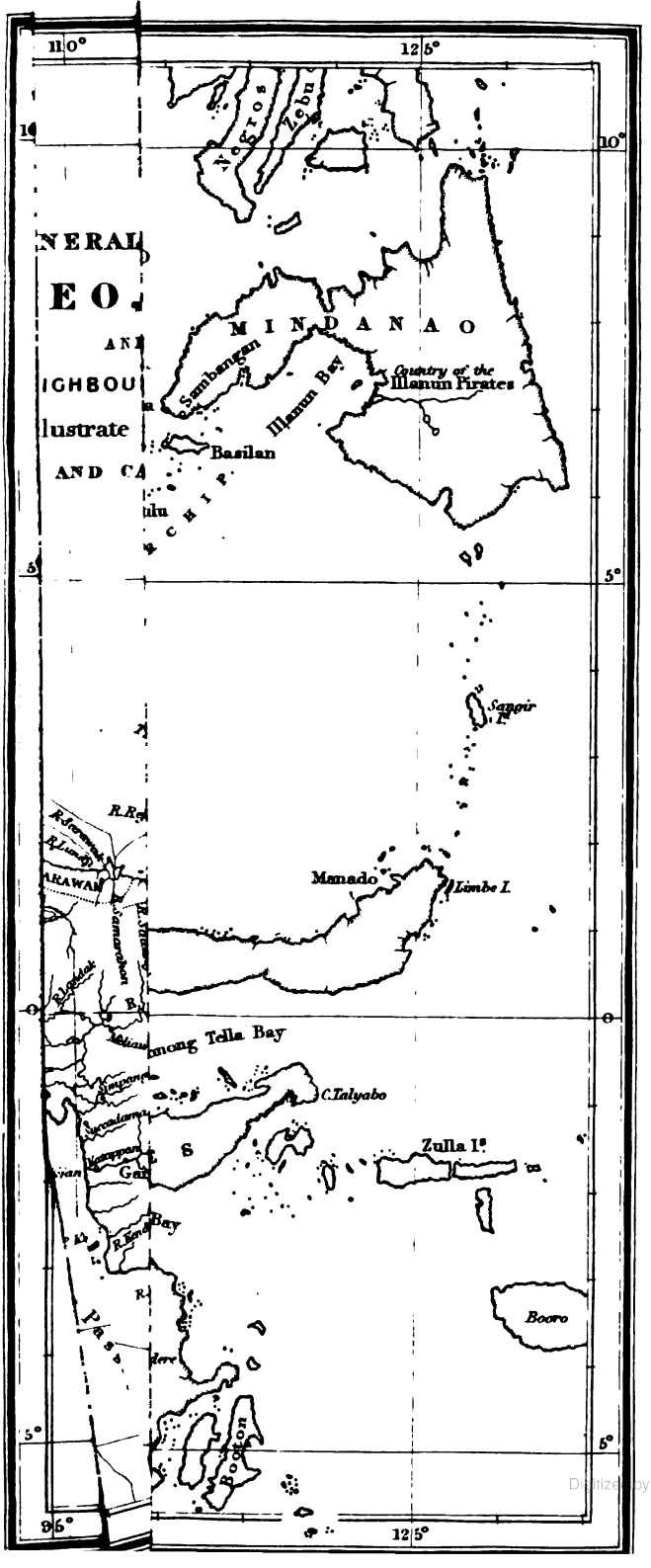

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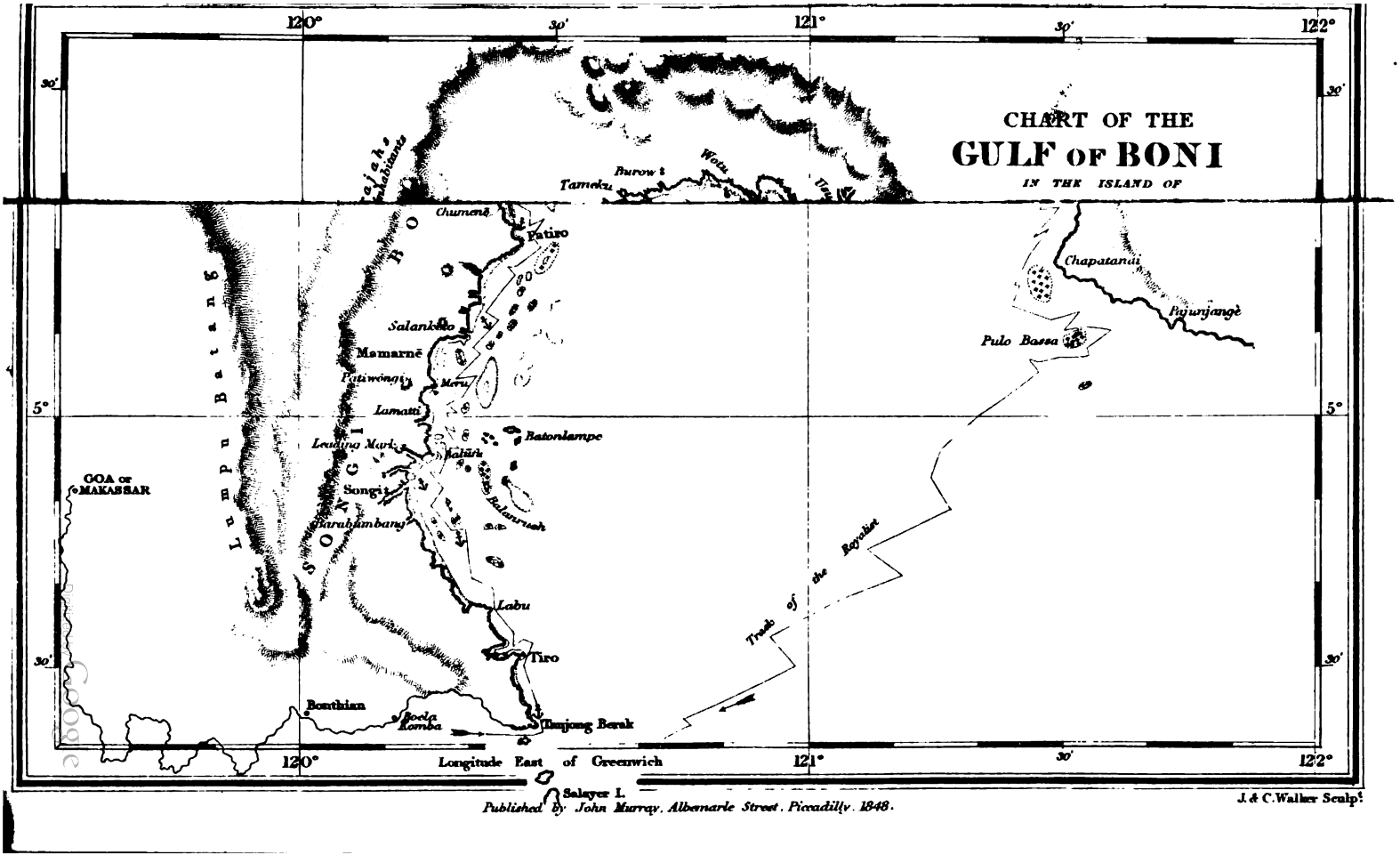

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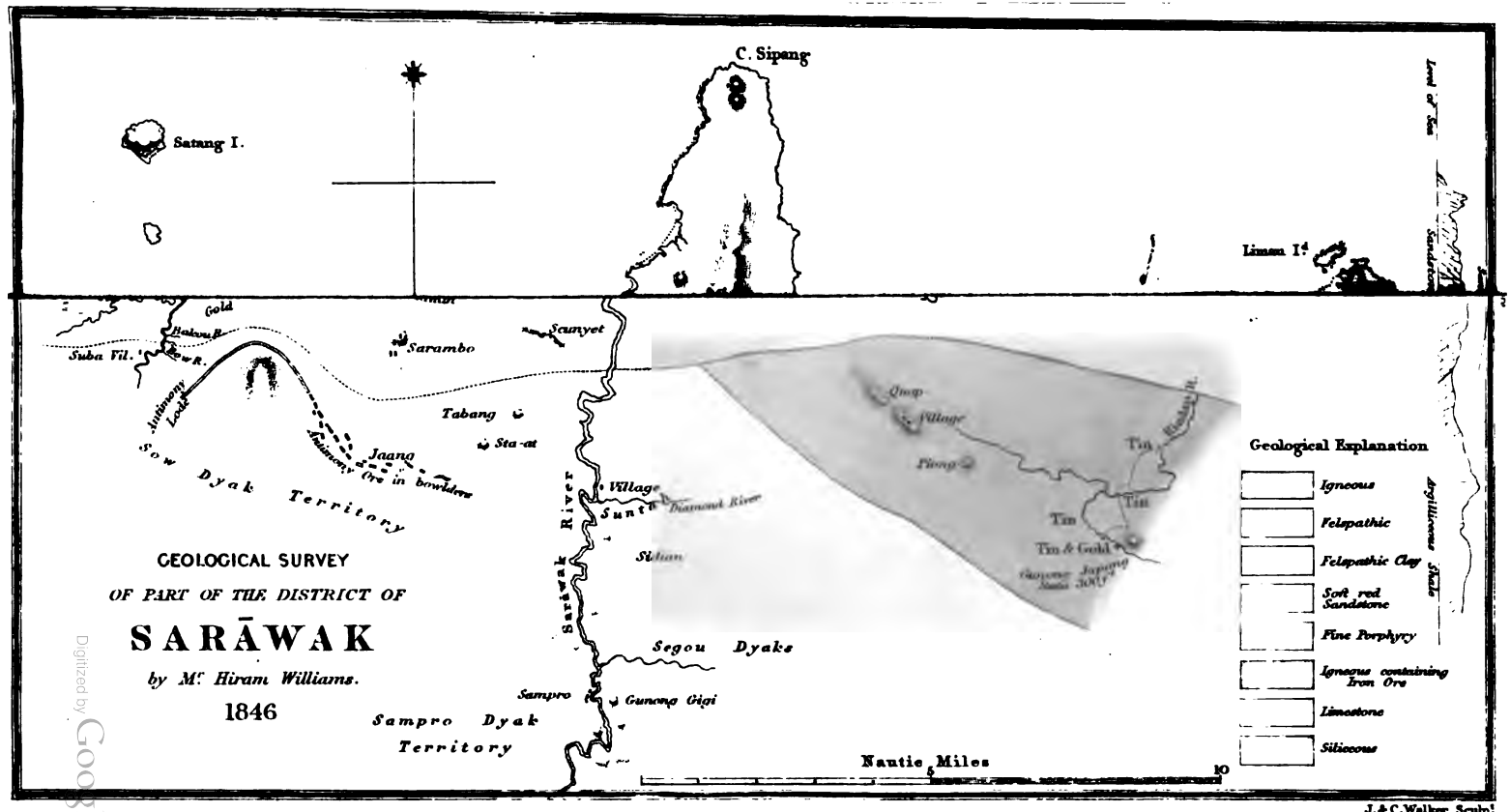

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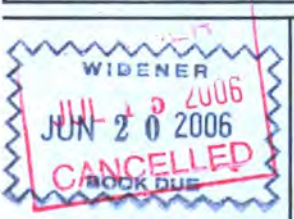

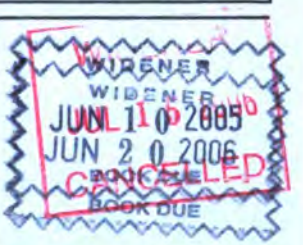

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